EARLY *ḤADĪTH* LITERATURE AND THE THEORY OF IGNAZ GOLDZIHER

BY

TALAL MALOUSH

THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ISLAMIC AND MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES FACULTY OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, AUGUST 2000

In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration vi
Abstract vii
Acknowledgements viii
Key to transliteration x
Abbreviations xi

Introduction **1-19**

Part One
The Role Of The Qur'ān And The Prophet Toward The *Sunnah*

Introduction: The Word *Ḥadīth* And *Sunnah* **21**

Chapter 1: The Qur'ān And The *Sunnah* **31-67**

Section 1: The Qur'ān's urgent requirement for the *Sunnah* 32
Section 2: The Qur'ān and the term 'the *Sunnah* of the Prophet' 41
Section 3: The Qur'ān's command to follow the *Sunnah* of the Prophet by obeying him 47
Section 4: The Qur'ānic approaches to indicating the necessity of (e.g. *targhīb* and *tarhīb*) following of the *Sunnah* 49
Section 5: The Qur'ān's commanding to abide by what the Prophet has brought, abstain from what he has forbidden, and accept his judgement 52
Section 6: A review of events described in the Qur'ān which demonstrate that obedience to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet is required of Muslims, which includes the following of his commands, prohibitions, judgements, decisions and instructions 56
Conclusion 66

Chapter 2: The Prophet And The *Sunnah* **68-162**

Section 1: The Prophet's clarification of the status of his *Sunnah* and his command to act upon it 69
Section 2: The Prophet's exhortation and instruction to his Companions to memorize *Ḥadīth* 74
Section 3: The Prophet's command that his Companions should convey his *Ḥadīth* to others 81
Section 4: The Prophet's permission for the writing down of his *Ḥadīth* 87
Section 5: The Prophet's letters that were written to assist

in establishing the *Sunnah* in other regions 114
Section 6: The Prophet's dispatching of educational missions for the propagation of his *Sunnah* in other regions 122
Section 7: The Prophet's teaching of the incoming delegations and their instruction in the *Sunnah* 128
Section 8: The Prophet's teaching of the *Sunnah* to his Companions 137
Conclusion 160

Part Two
Goldziher And The *Ḥadīth*

Introduction: Goldziher's Theory Regarding The Fabrication Of *Ḥadīth* In The Umayyad Era **165**

Chapter 3: The Companions And Fabrication **172-214**
Section 1: Goldziher's evidence regarding the Companions' fabrication 173
Section 2: Discussion of his first evidence regarding the fabrication of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah 176
Section 3: Discussion of his second evidence regarding the fabrication of 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd 184
Section 4: Discussion of his third evidence regarding the fabrication of Abū Hurayrah 195
Section 5: Discussion of Goldziher's stance regarding Abū Hurayrah's *ḥadīths* 201

Chapter 4: The Pious Scholars And Fabrication **215-266**
Section 1: Goldziher's evidence regarding the pious scholars' fabrication 216
Section 2: Discussion of Goldziher's allegation that the pious scholars invented the *ḥadīth*, "There will come emirs after me who will kill the *Ṣalāt* (*yumītūna*) … ." 220
Section 3: Discussion of the dissatisfaction of the pious scholars and their denunciation and defiance of the tyrannical rule of the Umayyads 233
Section 4: Discussion of al-Ḥajjāj's mistreatment of Anas b. Mālik 247
Section 5: Discussion of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik's alleged desire to execute al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī because of his pietistical opposition 251
Section 6: Discussion of Ibn al-Musayyib's refusal to pledge allegiance 256
Section 7: Discussion of Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib's statement

about Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's opinion on the issue of *khilafah* 260

Chapter 5: The Umayyads And Fabrication **267-310**
Section 1: Goldziher's evidence regarding the Umayyads' fabrication 268
Section 2: Discussion of the first factor: Official influence on the invention, dissemination and suppression of *ḥadīths* 277
Section 3: Discussion of the second factor: The endeavours of the Umayyad governors to find pious and trustworthy authorities to cover such falsifications:
First: A discussion of his evidence in support of his accusation of Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī:
A. Discussion of his first evidence 279
B. Discussion of his second evidence 291
C. Discussion of his third evidence 295
Second: A discussion of his evidence in support of his accusation of Rajā' b. Ḥaywah 297
Section 4: Discussion of a *ḥadīth* invented by the Umayyads, in the interests of the privileges claimed by them, which indicated that even 'Alī had delivered the *khuṭbah* seated 303
Section 5: Discussion of a *ḥadīth* invented by the Umayyads in the interest of the privileges claimed by them, which indicated that the Prophet used to sit in his *khuṭbah* 306

Chapter 6: The Theologians And Fabrication **311-30**
Section 1: Goldziher's evidence regarding the theologians' fabrication 312
Section 2: Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah 314
Section 3: Al-Layth b. Sa'd and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid 319
Section 4: Shahr b. Ḥawshab 323

Chapter 7: The Impact Of Goldziher's Opinions On Subsequent Studies **331-54**
Section 1: Guillaume and Goldziher's theories 332
Section 2: Juynboll and Goldziher's theories 344

Conclusion: The Results Of The Study And An Appraisal Of Goldziher's Methodology **355**
Glossary **373**
Bibliography **378**

DECLARATION

I, THE UNDERSIGNED, HEREBY DECLARE THAT THIS THESIS IS WRITTEN BY MYSELF AND ANY REFERENCES MADE TO THE SOURCES ARE DULY ACKNOWLEDGED

Talal A. Maloush

ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the study and analysis of three main issues:

1. The role of the Qur'ān in the establishment of the *Sunnah,* and the affirmation of its status and the importance of acting in accordance with it.

2. The role of the Prophet in the propagation and preservation of the *Sunnah.*

3. The main evidence that is cited by Goldziher in support of his theory of the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* during the Umayyad period.

The thesis consists of an introduction, two parts and a conclusion. The introduction describes the motivation for choosing the above issues as the subject of the research and demonstrates the method followed.

Part One deals with the role of the Qur'ān and the Prophet in relation to the *sunnah* and contains two chapters. In Chapter 1, attention is given to two issues: The clarification of the Qur'ān's urgent requirement for the *Sunnah* from the revelation of the first verses onwards; and an examination of the Qur'ān's detailed explanation of the importance of the *Sunnah* and of acting according to it. This chapter consists of six sections and a conclusion. Chapter 2 aims to present and discuss the various roles that were performed by the Prophet in the preservation and propagation of his *Sunnah.* This chapter consists of eight sections and a conclusion.

Part Two, which constitutes the main part of the study, undertakes a rigorous study of Goldziher's main evidence regarding his theory of the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* during the Umayyad period. It consists of an introduction, five chapters and a conclusion. In the introduction, we give a general overview of Goldziher's theory regarding the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* in the Umayyad period. Chapter 3 contains an analysis of the evidence he cites in support of his claim that the Companions fabricated *Ḥadīth*, and consists of five sections. Chapter 4 attempts an analysis of the evidence he cites in support of his claim that various 'pious scholars' fabricated *Ḥadīth* during the Umayyads' rule, and consists of seven sections. Chapter 5 contains an analysis of his evidence regarding the Umayyads' fabrication of *Ḥadīth*, and consists of five sections. Chapter 6 contains an analysis of his evidence regarding the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* by various theologians and consists of four sections. Chapter 7 contains a demonstration of the impact of Goldziher's opinions on subsequent studies.

Finally, the Conclusion summarises the findings of the study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Praise be to Allāh, Almighty, for giving me the ability, health and knowledge to complete this dissertation, and peace be upon all the Messengers for the sake of guidance to mankind.

This thesis would not have been possible without the help and support of individuals and institutions too numerous to mention by name, and I will limit myself here to mentioning those who were particularly helpful. Thanks must go to my supervisor Dr I. K. A. Howard for the useful guidance, constant encouragement and constructive comments that he has offered me through all the stages of this work, for which I am very grateful. Also, my genuine, deep thanks and respect go to my second supervisor Dr Y. Dutton for his invaluable advice, efforts, suggestions, particularly in the final stage of my thesis.

I wish also to express my gratitude to the former Dean of the Faculty of Da'wah at Madinah, Participating Professor 'Abd Allāh al-Ruḥaylī for advising me to benefit from the experience of Western scholars and for his continuous encouragement and concern, to Dr. Muṣṭafā Ḥalabī for his valuable assistance, to Imām Muḥammad Ibn Su'ūd Islamic University, Riyadh, for granting me the scholarship which enabled me to pursue postgraduate research in the University of Edinburgh, and to Saudi Arabian Airlines for helping me to convey more than 1000 volumes to the United Kingdom. I would also like to thank the Secretary of the Faculty of Postgraduate Studies Committees, Mrs. Kate Marshall for her invaluable assistance in accommodating my very large library. In addition, thanks should go to the Saudi Arabian Cultural Bureau for the invaluable assistance they rendered throughout my research, and for sponsoring an academic trip to Saudi Arabia, Cairo and Lebanon, for which I am very grateful.

My gratitude is also due to all of the staff of the Public Library, who supplied me with all the required materials, to the staff of the Computing Services who were always ready to solve any of my computing difficulties, to the previous secretary of the Department Miss Crawford for her help and kindness, and to the present secretary Miss Lesley Scobie for her concern and good-natured assistance. Thanks also to my brother Ṭāriq who provided a great deal of help in purchasing on my behalf many sources and materials in Saudi Arabia and Cairo, and to Mr T. Ghaznavi for editing this thesis, polishing my English and suggesting various grammatical corrections which took a great deal of his valuable time.

I owe special gratitude and appreciation to my wife Ṣafiyah 'Abbās and my children, Tassnim, Alā', Arwā, 'Abd Allāh and 'Umar who have released me from my household obligations for the past six years in order to enable me to complete this thesis. I wish them all success and a happy future. Finally and most importantly, I am greatly indebted, and that is far too weak a word, to my parents for their unfailing encouragement and their most generous care, love and support, which have sustained me always. I wish them a blissful, long life and I sincerely ask Allāh to reward them here and in the Hereafter and to give me the opportunity to reward them in their lives.

KEY TO TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration of Arabic words is according to the following alphabetical substitution:

A. Consonants:

ا	' (Not shown initially)	ض	*ḍ*
ب	*b*	ط	*ṭ*
ت	*t*	ظ	*ẓ*
ث	*th*	ع	'
ج	*j*	غ	*gh*
ح	*ḥ*	ف	*f*
خ	*kh*	ق	*q*
د	*d*	ك	*k*
ذ	*dh*	ل	*l*
ر	*r*	م	*m*
ز	*z*	ن	*n*
س	*s*	هـ	*h*
ش	*sh*	و	*w*
ص	*ṣ*	ي	*y*
ـة	*h* (ثلاثة: *thalāthah*) except when *muḍāf*; then *t* (ثلاثة أقلام: *thalāthatu aqlām*)		

B. Vowels and Diphthongs

Short vowels:		Long vowels:		Diphthongs:	
ـَ (*fatḥah*)	*a*	ـَا / ـَى	*ā* (كتاب: *kitāb*)	ـَو	*aw* (أَوْلى: *awlā*)
ـُ (*ḍammah*)	*u*	ـُو	*ū* (كتبو : *katabū*)	ـَي	*ay* (غَيْب: *ghayb*)
ـِ (*kasrah*)	*i*	ـِي	*ī* (مُفتِي : *muftī*)		

ABBREVIATIONS

i) Sources

Aghānī	***al-Aghānī***, by al-Aṣfahānī, Abū al-Faraj.
Āḥād	***al-Āḥād wa al-mathānī***, by Ibn Abī ʻĀṣim.
ʻAjjāj	***Al-Sunnah qabl al-tadwīn***, by al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad ʻAjjāj.
Akhlāq	***al-Jāmiʻ li akhlāq al-rāwī wa ādāb al-sāmiʻ***, by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr.
Alfāẓ	***al-Muʻjam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qur'ān***, by ʻAbd al-Bāqī, Muḥammad Fu'ād.
Amwāl	***al-Amwāl***, by Abū ʻUbayd, al-Qāsim b. Sallām.
Āthār	***al-Āthār***, by Abū Yūsuf.
Aʻẓamī	***Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature***, by al-Aʻẓamī.
Aʻẓamī 2	***On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence***, by al-Aʻẓamī.
Baghdād	***Tārīkh Baghdād***, by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr.
Basawī	***al-Maʻrifah wa al-tārikh***, by al-Basawī.
Bayān	***Jāmiʻ bayān al-ʻIilm wa faḍlih***, by Ibn ʻAbd al-Barr.
Bayhaqī	***al-Sunan al-kubrā***, by al-Bayhaqī.
Beyanouni	***Ḥadīth and Its Principles***, by Beyanouni, Fathiddin.
Bidāyah	***al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah***, by Ibn kathīr.
Bukhārī	***Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī***, by al-Bukhārī.
Bukhārī *Ḍ*	***al-Ḍuʻafā' al-Ṣaghīr***, by al-Bukhārī.
Bukhārī *M*	***al-Adab al-mufrad***, by al-Bukhārī.
Bukhārī *TK*	***al-Tārīkh al-kabīr***, by al-Bukhārī.
Bukhārī *TṢ*	***al-Tārīkh al-ṣaghīr***, by al-Bukhārī.
Buldān	***Muʻjam al-buldān***, by al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt.
Ḍaʻīf	***Ḍaʻīf sunan Ibn Mājah***, by al-Albānī.
Dāraquṭnī	***Sunan al-Dāraquṭnī***, by al-Dāraquṭnī.
Dāraquṭnī *KḌ*	***Kitāb al-Ḍuʻafā' wa al-matrūkīn***, by al-Dāraquṭnī.
Dārimī	***Sunan al-Dārimī***, by al-Dārimī.
Dāwūd	***Sunan Abī Dāwūd***, by Abū Dāwūd.
Denffer	***Literature on Hadith in European Languages***, by Denffer.
Difāʻ	***Difāʻ ʻan Abī Hurayrah***, by al-ʻIzzī, ʻAbd al-Munʻim.
Dixon	***The Umayyad Caliphate***, by ʻAbd Dixon.
Fatḥ	***Fatḥ al-Bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī***, by Ibn Ḥajar.
Goldziher	***Muslim Studies***, by Goldziher.
Guillaume	***The Traditions of Islam***, by Guillaume.
Ḥāfiẓ	***The Life of az-Zuhrī and his Scholarship in Qur'ānic Sciences and Tradition (Ḥadīth and Sunna)***, by Ḥāfiẓ.
Ḥasan *A*	***al-Āthār***, by al-Shaybānī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan.

Ḥasan *SK*	***al-Siyar al-kabīr***, by al-Shaybānī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan.
Ḥātim	***al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl***, by Ibn Abī Ḥātim.
Ḥayawān	***al-Ḥayawān***, by al-Jāḥiẓ.
Ḥayāt	***Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā***, by al-Dumayrī.
Ḥibbān	***Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān***, by Ibn Ḥibbān.
Ḥilyat	***Ḥilyat al-awliyā' wa ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'***, by al-Aṣbahānī, Abū Nu'aym.
Hishām 1	***al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah***, by Ibn Hishām.
Hishām 2	***The Life of Muḥammad*** (A translation of Ibn Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh with introduction and notes), by Guillaume.
Hitti	***History of the Arabs***, by Hitti.
Ḥuffāẓ	***Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ***, by al-Dhahabī.
Ḥumayd	***al-Muntakhab min musnad 'Abd Ibn Ḥumayd***, by 'Abd b. Ḥumayd.
Ḥumaydī	***Musnad al-Ḥumaydī***, by al-Ḥumaydī.
Ibn 'Adī	***al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā' al-rijāl***, by Ibn 'Adī.
Ibn 'Asākir	***Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq***, by Ibn 'Asākir.
Ibn Ḥazm	***al-Iḥkām fi uṣūl al-aḥkām***, by Ibn Ḥazm.
Ibn Isḥāq	***Kitāb al-Siyar wa al-maghāzī***, by Ibn Isḥāq.
Ibn al-Ja'd	***Musnad Ibn al-Ja'd***, by Ibn al-Ja'd.
Ibn Kathīr	***Tafsīr al-Qur'ān***, by Ibn kathīr.
Ibn Khuzaymah	***Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Khuzaymah***, by Ibn Khuzaymah
Ibn Mājah *TK*	***Tārīkh al-khulafā'***, by Ibn Mājah.
Ibn Mājah	***Sunan Ibn Mājah***, by Ibn Mājah.
Ibn Manẓūr	***Lisān al-'arab***, by Ibn Manẓūr.
Ibn Sa'd	***Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā***, by Ibn Sa'd.
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ	***Muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ fī 'ulūm al-ḥadīth***, by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ.
Ibn Ṭūlūn	***I'lām al-sā'ilīn 'an kutub sayyid al-mursalīn***, by Ibn Ṭūlūn.
'Ilal	***al-'Ilal wa ma'rifat al-rijāl***, by Ibn Ḥanbal.
Imlā'	***Adab al-imlā' wa al-istimlā'***, by al-Sam'ānī, 'Abd al-Karīm.
al-'Iqd	***al-'Iqd al-farīd***, by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih.
Iṣābah	***al-Iṣābah fi tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah***, by Ibn Ḥajar.
Ishbīlī	***al-Fihrist***, by Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī.
Islamics	***Index Islamics***, by Pearson.
Istī'āb	***al-Istī'āb fi ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb***, by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr.
al-Jāmi'	***Kitāb al-Jāmi'***, by Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid.
JarAllah	***The Origins of Ḥadīth***, by al-JarAllah, Sulaiman.
Jawāmi'	***Jawāmi' al-sīrah***, by Ibn Ḥazm.
Juynboll	***Muslim Tradition***, by Juynboll.
Juynboll 2	***On the Origins of Arabic Prose***, by Juynboll.
Kamāl 2	***Tahdhīb al-kamāl fi asmā' al-rijāl***, by al-Mizzī, Yūsuf b. al-Zakī.
Kāmil	***al-Kāmil***, by Ibn al-Athīr.
Kattānī	***al-Risālah al-mustaṭrafah***, by al-Kattānī, Muḥammad b. Ja'far.
Kharāj	***al-Kharāj***, by Abū Yūsuf.

Kifāyah	***al-Kifāyah fī 'ilm al-riwāyah***, by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr.
Lisān	***Lisān al-mizān***, by Ibn Ḥajar.
Ma'ārif	***al-Ma'ārif***, by Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī.
Ma'rifat	***Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-Ḥadīth***, by al-Ḥākim.
Majrūḥīn	***al-Majrūḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn wa al-ḍu'afā' wa al-matrūkīn***, by Ibn Ḥibbān.
Makātīb	***Makātīb al-rasūl***, by al-Aḥmadī.
Mālik	***al-Muwaṭṭa'***, by Mālik b. Anas al-Aṣbaḥī.
Mashāhīr	***Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār wa a'lām fuqahā' al-aqṭār***, by Ibn Ḥibbān.
Methodology	***Studies in Ḥādīth Methodology and Literature***, by al-A'ẓamī.
Miṣbāḥ	***al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍī' fī kuttāb al-nabbī al-ummī wa rusulih ilā mulūk al-arḍ min 'arabī wa 'ajamī***, by al-Anṣārī.
Mishkāt	***Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ***, by al-Tabrīzī.
Mīzān	***Mīzān al-i'tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl***, by al-Dhahabī.
Mubarrad	***al-Kāmil [fī al-lughah]***, by al-Mubarrad.
Muḥallā	***al-Muḥallā***, by Ibn Ḥazm.
Muntaqā	***al-Muntaqā min al-sunan al-musnadah***, by Ibn al-Jārūd.
Murūj	***Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar***, by al-Mas'ūdī.
Muṣannaf	***al-Kitāb al-Muṣannaf fī al-aḥādīth wa al-āthār***, by Ibn Abī Shaybah.
Muṣannaf 1	***al-Muṣannaf***, by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī.
Muslim	***Saḥīḥ Muslim***, by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj.
al-Musnad	***Musnad* al-Shāfi'ī**, by Al-Shāfi'ī.
Musnad 1	***al-Musnad*** (al-Maymaniyah edn.), by Ibn Ḥanbal.
Musnad 2	***al-Musnad*** (Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir edn.), by Ibn Ḥanbal.
Musnad 3	***al-Musnad*** (Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī edn.), by Ibn Ḥanbal.
Mustadrak	***al-Mustadrak 'alā al-ṣaḥīḥayn***, by al-Ḥākim.
Mustaqṣā	***al-Mustaqṣā min amthāl al-'arab***, by al-Zamakhsharī.
Nasā'ī	***Sunan al-Nasā'ī***, by al-Nasā'ī.
Nasā'ī *Ḍ*	***Kitāb al-Ḍu'afā' wa al-matrūkīn***, by al-Nasā'ī.
Nasā'ī *SK*	***al-Sunan al-kubrā***, by al-Nasā'ī.
Nawawī	***Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa al-lūghāt***, by al-Nawawī.
Niẓām	***Niẓām al-ḥukūmah al-nabawiyah, al-musammā: al-Tarātīb al-idāriyah***, by al-Kattānī, 'Abd al-Ḥayy.
Nubalā'	***Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'***, by al-Dhahabī.
Nujūm	***al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah***, by Abū al-Maḥāsin.
Orient	***The Orient Under the Caliphs***, by Kremer.
Q.	***Qur'ān.***
Qurṭubī	***al-Jāmi' li aḥkām al-Qur'ān***, by al-Qurṭubī.
Rāmhurmuzī	***al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayn al-rāwī wa al-wā'ī***, by al-Rāmhurmuzī.

Rāzī	***Mukhtār al-ṣiḥāḥ***, by al-Rāzī.
Riḥlah	***al-Riḥlah fī ṭalab al-Ḥadīth***, by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr.
Safārāt	***al-Safārāt al-nabawiyyah ilā mulūk al-'ālam wa umarā' aṭrāf al-jazīrah al-'arabiyah***, by al-'Uqaylī, Muḥammad Arshīd.
Schacht	***The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence***, by Schacht.
Shāfi'ī *R*	***al-Risālah***, by al-Shāfi'ī.
Shāfi'ī *S*	***al-Sunan al-ma'thūrah***, by al-Shāfi'ī.
Shāfi'ī *U*	***al-Umm***, by al-Shāfi'ī.
Shahbah	***al-Isrā'īliyāt wa al-mawḍū'āt fi kutub al-tafsīr***, by Abū Shahbah.
Shāṭibī	***al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-aḥkām***, by al-Shāṭibī.
Sibā'ī	***al-Sunnah wa makānatuhā fi al-tashrī' al-Islamī***, by al-Sibā'ī.
Ṣiddīqī	***Ḥadīth Literature***, by Ṣiddīqī, Muḥammad Zubayr.
Silsilat	***Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ṣaḥīḥah***, by al-Albānī.
Simon	***Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarship as Reflected in his Works and Correspondence***, by Simon, Róbert.
Sezgin	***Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī (Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums)***, by Sezgin.
al-Sunan	***al-Sunan al-ma'thūrah***, by Al-Shāfi'ī.
al-Sunnah	***al-Sunnah***, by Ibn Abī 'Āṣim.
Ṣuyūṭī *QA*	***Qaṭf al-azhār al-mutanāthirah fi al-akhbār al-mutawātirah***, by al-Ṣuyūṭī.
Ṣuyūṭī *TJ*	***Tafsīr al-jalālayn***, by al-Ṣuyūṭī.
Ṣuyūṭī *TK*	***Tārīkh al-khulafā'***, by al-Ṣuyūṭī.
Ṣuyūṭī *TR*	***Tadrīb al-rāwī fi sharḥ taqrīb al-Nawawī***, by al-Ṣuyūṭī.
Ṭabarānī *M*	***Musnad al-shāmiyyīn***, by al-Ṭabarānī.
Ṭabarānī *MA*	***al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ***, by al-Ṭabarānī.
Ṭabarānī *MK*	***al-Mu'jam al-kabīr***, by al-Ṭabarānī.
Ṭabarānī *MS*	***al-Mu'jam al-ṣaghīr***, by al-Ṭabarānī.
Ṭabarī	***Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk***, by al-Ṭabarī.
Tabyīn	***al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn***, by al-Jāḥiẓ.
Tahdhīb	***Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb***, by Ibn Ḥajar.
Tāj	***Tāj al-tarājim***, by Ibn Quṭlūbughā.
Ta'jīl	***Ta'jīl al-manfa'ah***, by Ibn Ḥajar.
Taqrīb	***Taqrīb al-tahdhīb***, by Ibn Ḥajar.
Taqyīd	***Taqyīd al-'ilm***, by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr.
Targhīb	***al-Targhīb wa al-tarhīb min al-Ḥadīth al-sharīf***, by al-Mundhirī.
Ta'wīl	***Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth***, by Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī.
Ṭayālisī	***Musnad Abī Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī***, by al-Ṭayālisī.
Timthāl	***Timthāl al-Amthāl***, by al-'Abdarī.
Tirmidhī	***Sunan al-Tirmidhī***, by al-Tirmidhī.
Ṭiwāl	***al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl***, by al-Dīnawarī, Abū Ḥanīfah.
'Umarī	***Buḥūth fi tārīkh al-Sunnah al-musharrafah***, by al-'Umarī.
'Uqaylī	***Ḍu'afā' al-'Uqaylī***, by al-'Uqaylī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Mūsā.
Usd	***Usd al-ghābah fī ma'rifat al-ṣaḥābah***, by Ibn al-Athīr.

'Uyūn	***Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*** [***al-'Uyūn wa al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq***], by anonymous.
Wāqidī	***al-Maghāzī,*** by al-Wāqidī.
Wathā'iq	***Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyah li-l-'ahd al-nabawī wa al-khilāfah al-rāshidah***, by Ḥamīd Allāh.
Wellhausen	***The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall***, by Wellhausen.
Ya'lā	***Musnad Abī Ya'lā,*** by Abū Ya'lā.
Ya'qūbī	***Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī,*** by al-Ya'qūbī.
Zahū	***al-Ḥadīth wa al-muḥaddithūn***, by Abū Zahū.
Zayla'ī,	***Naṣb al-rāyah li-aḥādīth al-hidāyah***, by al-Zayla'ī.
Ẓuhrī	***al-Maghāzī al-Nabawiyyah***, by al-Ẓuhrī.
Zawā'id	***Majma' al-zawā'id***, by al-Haythamī.

ii) Periodicals

JAOS	***Journal of the American Oriental Society.***
JNES	***Journal of Near Eastern Studies.***
JRAS	***Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.***
MW	***The Muslim World.***
RO	***Rocznik Orientalistyczny.***

iii) References

Concordance	***Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane***, by Wensinck et al.
EI[1]	***Encyclopaedia of Islam***, first edition.
EI[2]	***Encyclopaedia of Islam***, second edition.

INTRODUCTION

In investigating early Islamic history, it is to *ḥadīth* literature, among other sources, that we should turn, as it constitutes a valuable source of information on this period. It permits us to understand the culture and social framework of the times, as well as the legal and religious stipulations that operated then. *Ḥadīth* literature is also the principal source of information regarding the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, which is second in importance to the Qur'ān as a source of Islamic law.

Western scholars and *Ḥadīth*

"Western scholars have taken an interest in the *ḥadīth* material for almost two centuries, making a welcome contribution by editing and sometimes translating many of the original Arabic works, and by the diligent preparation of concordances and indices. But while some have accepted the traditional canons of *ḥadīth* criticism as developed by the Muslim scholars themselves, others have offered alternative accounts of the subject. Orientalists of this school have raised some fundamental issues with regard to the literature, and attempted to address them according to modern Western canons of literary and historical criticism."[1]

The importance of Goldziher's study

[1] Ṣiddīqī, p 124.

"The first and the last significant attempt was made by Ignas Goldziher.[2] He published the result of his research, *Muhammedanische Studien*, in 1890. Since then it has been the fundamental source for the study of *Ḥadīth* in the West. After the lapse of three-quarters of a century, Professor Schacht tried to investigate the legal *aḥādīth*.[3] Apart from this there are some articles and a few books which have dealt

---

[2] Goldziher was born on 22 June 1850 in the town of Székesfehérvár in Hungary. He began his scholarly career at a strikingly early age. At five he was reading the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, at eight the Talmud; at twelve, he wrote and published his first monograph, on the origins and classification of the Hebrew prayers. At sixteen, while still a schoolboy, he attended courses in classics, philosophy, and oriental languages, including Persian and Turkish, at the University of Budapest, where he continued his studies after leaving school. With the help of his teachers, he obtained a scholarship from the Hungarian Minister of Education and embarked on a comprehensive program of study and research designed to equip him for a university appointment. His first period abroad was in Germany at the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin, where he took his doctorate at the age of nineteen. In the following year, he was approved as an occasional lecturer -Privatdozent- in the University of Budapest.

From Germany, he went to Holland and spent six months in Leiden, then the foremost school of Islamic studies in Europe. Goldziher's previous work in Hungary and Germany, though ranging widely, had been mainly in the fields of Judaic and Semitic studies, the latter of course including Arabic. His experience in Leiden, as he notes in his diary, made Islam in the broadest sense the main focus of his scholarly work. This new direction was confirmed when Goldziher went on his first and only trip to the Middle East, from September 1873 to April 1874. His time was spent mainly in Damascus and in Cairo, where he obtained permission – the first non-Muslim to do so – to enroll as a student in the mosque university of al-Azhar

In 1874, after returning home, he published work in the proceedings of the Imperial Academy in Vienna. This marked the beginning of a career of outstanding distinction which brought him international recognition as one of the great masters of oriental scholarship and a founder of the modern science of Islamics. He was elected as an Extraordinary Member of the Hungarian Academy in 1876 and as an Ordinary Member in 1892, and was given the title of Professor in 1894, the year in which the legislative assembly formally recognized Judaism as equal to the three Christian denominations existing in the country. At this stage, he received only the title, without faculty privileges and without salary.

In 1889 the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists awarded him its gold medal for his scholarly publications, and that in 1894 he had received and refused an invitation to a chair at Cambridge University, in succession to W. Robertson Smith. Having no salaried academic appointment, he turned for his livelihood to the Jewish community, and for thirty years, from 1876 to 1905, served it as secretary. This was an exacting and sometimes disagreeable job, which left him only his evenings, job, weekends, and holidays for his scholarly work. It was not until 1904 that he was appointed to a genuine professorship in the University of Budapest, at first in Semitics, and then, from 1914, in the Chair of Muslim Law and Institutions in the Faculty of Laws. He died on 13 November 1921. For an extensive biography of Goldziher see Bernard Lewis' Introduction to Goldzihers' ***Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law***. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey,1979.

[3] "It was J. Schacht who set about the theoretical revaluation of the work, or actually reverted to Goldziher's original concept. He reconstructed the development of Muslim jurisprudence on the basis of Goldziher's work. (The theoretical clarification see in *A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions*, JRAS, 1949, pp. 143-154; his great work is *The Origins of Muhammedan Jurisprudence*, 1950)." See Simon, p. 104.

with the subject in passing."[4] Simon also states that, "The theoretical significance of his work on Ḥadīth was forgotten nearly for half a century after the due appreciation of T. Nöldeke, Snouck-Hurgronje and C. H. Becker who were his greatest contemporaries. The outstanding researcher of the sources of Muslim jurisprudence, J. Schacht had to rediscover it in the middle of the century.[5] The irony of it is that in the meantime everybody felt obliged to refer to the study as something fundamental and unmatched. If they quoted anything from Goldziher's corpus that was some trivial part of it, insignificant without its original context."[6] Denffer says, "Since then many more studies have appeared but no such remarkable work as Goldziher's has yet seen the light of day."[7] Guillaume, in the Preface to his ***The Traditions of Islam*** writes that Goldziher's ***Muhammedanische Studien***, must form the basis of any work on the *Ḥadīth* literature,[8] and indeed, the view of many orientalists regarding *Ḥadīth* appears to have been decided once and for all when Goldziher published his book.[9] A large number of eminent Western scholars have praised Goldziher's work and have paid very high tribute to him. "It is evident from contemporary book reviews and letters that every body suspected something of the epoch-making nature of Goldziher's study. The novelty of the work was reflected by the fact that even the

---

[4] A'ẓamī, p. xvii.
[5] "After that Goldziher's works began to be published (in 1961) and translated again into foreign languages (in 1967 Volume 1 of the *Muslim Studies*, in 1971 Volume 2 of the same) and individual works were read in the light of his whole corpus rather then of obligatory references and uncritical admiration." Simon, p. 97.
[6] Simon, p. 97.
[7] Denffer, p. 18.
[8] Guillaume, p. 5.
[9] However, there were, to some extent, exceptions: "Analysing some of Schacht's more sweeping judgements, he [Robson] became convinced that the traditional Muslim account of *Ḥadīth* genesis had much to commend it, and had in some ways been misrepresented - or at least misunderstood - by Goldziher and Schacht." See Ṣiddīqī, p. 132.

greatest scholars declared themselves incompetent to judge the values of the study. This can be best exemplified by a quotation from the book review by T. Nöldeke, the greatest Semitic philologist of the time. Having declared that the contents of the second volume of the *Muhammedanische Studien* was even more unorthodox than that of the first, he went on like this:

> I would not review his work if I did not suppose that my fellow scholars were in a similar situation in that respect. (*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, V, 1 891, p. 43)

In his letter to Goldziher he put it even more plainly:

> Who on earth has a better understanding of Ḥadīth than you? Not even Snouck can compete with you. (See his letter of 24. Oct, 1890 and 13 Nov., 1890)

Even the greatest scholars needed some time to digest Goldziher's radically new results. Nöldeke, for example, endorsed Goldziher's standpoint in respect of the legal and dogmatic pieces of Ḥadīth but argued in favour of the historical ones for a while. (See: Nöldeke's letter to Goldziher and his book review, p. 45) In his letter dated 20th Dec., 1892, he wrote jokingly:

> After all I must tell you that you are a terrible man. With all your doubts about the originality of the Ḥadīth you have awakened my suspicion too. Eventually, I will be more suspicious than you are! You have completely upset my simple soul."[10]

However, little attention seems to have been paid to the methodology employed by Goldziher in his research, or to the verification of his conclusions and references.

Scholars who have criticised Goldziher

---

[10] Simon, pp. 101-2. Other appreciations are listed in J. D. Pearson, *Index Islamicus* 1906-1955 (Cambridge, 1958), p. 11.

Due to the great importance which Goldziher's theories have in the domain of *Ḥadīth* studies, he has been subject to academic criticism by various scholars of *Ḥadīth*, albeit in a brief and passing manner. In his ***Appendix II*** to ***Ḥadīth Literature, Its Origin, Development and Special Features***, Ṣiddīqī briefly mentions some of the shortcomings of Goldziher's work, providing a summary point-by-point response to Goldziher's main claims.[11] Sezgin in his first volume of ***Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*** has dealt with his weaknesses in more detail; he points out that Goldziher's scholarship is very poor as far as the Muslim science of *Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth* is concerned and that many of his conclusions about the transmission of *aḥādīth* are hence incorrect.[12] Goldziher admits that it was a real fact that *Ḥadīth* were written down in *suḥuf* or *ajzā'* in the first decades of Islam when he says, "There is nothing against the assumption that the Companions and disciples wished to keep the Prophet's sayings and rulings from being forgotten by reducing them in

---

[11] Ṣiddīqī, pp. 124-30. Ṣiddīqī said, "Goldziher's main claims, as expounded in the second volume of his *Muslim Studies*, may be summarised as follows:

I. The *ḥadīth* literature is largely based on mere oral transmission, which lasted for more than a century; and the extant *ḥadīth* collections do not refer to any records of *ḥadīths* which may have been made at an earlier period.

2. The number of *ḥadīths* in the later collections is far larger than the number of those contained in the earlier anthologies or the early works on Islamic law. This, it is said, shows that many of the *ḥadīths* are of questionable authenticity.

3. The *ḥadīths* reported by the younger Companions are far more numerous than those related by the older Companions.

4. The *isnād* system was applied, arbitrarily, to *ḥadīth* not earlier than the close of the first Islamic century, and does not furnish a proof of the genuineness of the tradition to which it is attached.

5. Many of the *ḥadīths* contradict each other.

6. Definite evidence exists of the large-scale forgery of the *isnād* as well as of the texts of *ḥadīths*.

7. The Muslim critics confined their criticism of the literature to the *isnād* alone, and never criticised the texts transmitted.

Many of these controversies have been discussed in detail by in Chapters I, 6 and 7 of this book."

[12] This refers to the Arabic translation of this book, ***Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī***, tr. Dr. Maḥmūd Fahmī Ḥijāzī, Riyadh, al-Imām University, 1983. The original was published in Leiden, E. J. Brill, in 1967.

writing." He supports this with a number of pieces of evidence.[13] However, he believes that later the Muslims became reluctant to preserve the Prophet's sayings in written form.[14] Therefore, he asserts that *Ḥadīth* were first collected at the end of the second century AH and in the first half of the third century and that the compilers of the canonical collections did not select their material from the previously compiled existing literature; rather that they chose them from oral narrations throughout their extensive travels.

Sezgin criticises in detail Goldziher's opinion regarding the beginning of *Ḥadīth* collection, while asserting that the writing down of *Ḥadīth* continued throughout the second half of the first century AH and the first half of the second century with numerous pieces of evidence that contain descriptive expressions from the books of *Ḥadīth* terminology, information and technical terms. He explains the manner in which those collections were written down, the materials that were used in their writing as well as giving the names of many scholars who kept written documents and books. He indicates that Goldziher fails to benefit from the books of *Ḥadīth* terminology known to him; parts of these were still preserved in manuscript form in Goldziher's time. It is noteworthy that Sezgin reaches the following conclusions regarding the development of the compiling of *Ḥadīth*:

1. The writing down of *Ḥadīth*:

---

[13] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 22-3, 181.

[14] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 22: "Rather can it be assumed that the writing down of the ḥadīth was a very ancient method of preserving it, and that reluctance to preserve it in written form is merely the result of later considerations."; p. 183: "This dislike of writing was not there from the beginning, but was the result of prejudices which arose later. "

Ḥadīth was written down in small booklets or pamphlets during the time of the Companions and the first Followers. A single one of those booklets was called *ṣaḥifah* or *juz'*.

2. The collecting of *Ḥadīth*:

The scattered writings were brought together in the last quarter of the first century AH and the first quarter of the second century.

3. The classification of *Ḥadīth*:

At this stage the *ḥadīths* were arranged or classified according to their content, and had been since approximately 125 AH. At the end of the second century, however, another form of classification appears besides the first form. This form classifies *Ḥadīth* according to the names of the Companions (*kutub al-masānīd*). In the third century, the early methodical books were edited and comprehensive books were compiled that have been called the 'authentic canonical collections' by modern researchers. Goldziher considers these collections to be the first methodical books on *Ḥadīth*.[15]

It is worth mentioning that Sezgin has conducted a specialised scientific study of the sources used by al-Bukhārī for his book ***al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ***.[16] From this study he concludes that al-Bukhārī, in fact, took his material from about two hundred books compiled by his shaykhs from the previous generation. This in effect reflects

[15] Sezgin, vol. 1, pp. 115-52.
[16] The original of this study was published in Istanbul in 1955 under the title of ***Buchari'nin kaynaklari.***

the extent of the development of compilation with regard to *Ḥadīth.*[17] It refutes Goldziher's previous allegation (see above page 6).

Also, Ḥamidullah in his introduction to the ***Sahifah Hammam Ibn Munabbih*** has, without much reference to Goldziher, successfully challenged some of his notions.[18] Al-A'ẓamī discusses Goldziher's opinions in the form of an analysis of the theory he presents in ***Muslim Studies*** which asserts the Muslim community's sheer ignorance of Islam as a religious practice as well as a dogma. It also depicts Islam as being unable to incorporate its customs within a systematic ideology.[19]

More recently, a dense study entitled, "The *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī as a Source of Authentic *aḥādīth* of the First Century A.H.",[20] by H. Motzki, criticizes the approach of Western scholars who have concentrated on the content of the text when judging the authenticity of a *ḥadīth*, including Goldziher and Schacht. With regard to the former he says, "Ignaz Goldziher's thesis that the traditions ascribed to the Prophet and the Companions (*saḥāba*) contained in the classical collections of *aḥādīth* are not authentic reports of these persons but rather reflect the doctrinal and political developments of the first two centuries after Muḥammad's death is based primarily on analysis of the content of the *ḥadīth* (*matn*) and not the transmitters."[21] Motzki addresses the source-analytical and tradition-historical approaches, while trying to show how we can ascertain whether, or to what degree,

---

[17] Sezgin, vol. 1, pp. 150-51.
[18] Denffer, p. 17.
[19] A'ẓamī, pp. 12-15.
[20] *JNES* 50 (January 1991): 1-21. The German version of this paper was presented at the Colloquium on *Ḥadīth* Historiography held in Oxford in September 1988.

the chains of transmission of *aḥādīth* are reliable. He undertakes a study of the authenticity of the *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211/826) through an examination of the *isnāds* of his sources, and reaches the conclusion that, "...the theory championed by Goldziher, Schacht, and, in their footsteps, many others – myself included – which, in general, rejects *ḥadīth* literature as a historically reliable source for the first century A.H., deprives the historical study of early Islam of an important and useful type of source."[22]

The aim of this thesis

To date a critical analysis of Goldziher's evidence regarding the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* in the Umayyad era, the single most important issue that concerns us here in that it calls into question the basic veracity of *Ḥadīth*, has not been produced by Muslim, or indeed non-Muslim scholars.[23] The present thesis seeks to address this deficiency.

Goldziher's theory

Goldziher, in general terms, believes that the *Ḥadīth* are no more than a product of the development of the religious, historical and social dimensions of Islam during its first two centuries. He says, "We are unlikely to have even as much confidence as Dozy regarding a large part of the *Ḥadīth*, but will probably consider

---

[21] Ibid., p. 1.
[22] Ibid., p. 21.
[23] A possible reason for the absence of a comprehensive appraisal of Goldziher's theories until now is that an informed discussion of his opinions requires a great deal of background knowledge and hard work to check all his references, including an extensive knowledge about *Ḥadīth* and its science, and the historical events related to it. This has become clear to me through my study and discussion of his deductions, opinions, references and conclusions. I do not exaggerate if I say that sometimes several

by far the greater part of it as the result of the religious, historical and social development of Islam during the first two centuries."[24]

His theory regarding the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* in the Umayyad era is based mainly on his assertion that:

1. The fabrication of *Ḥadīth* began after the death of the Prophet and that indeed, the first to fabricate *Ḥadīth* were the Companions themselves. He goes further and asserts that there was little confidence in the reliability of the transmitters of *Ḥadīth* that existed even in the earliest period of the formation of tradition.

2. There was great enmity that between the Umayyads and the pious scholars. He elaborates on the nature of this enmity with various statements, all of which portray the readiness of each side to fabricate *Ḥadīth* to the detriment of the other party and to bolster their own cause.

3. Theologians in official positions were used -or were willing, without outward pressure, because of their interest in the prevailing power- to put into circulation tendentious traditions.

Goldziher expounded his evidence at length, and we will present it at appropriate junctures in our discussion.

The examination of Goldziher's conclusions and relevant references

In light of his high academic standing and influence in his field,[25] it is important to examine Goldziher's conclusions and relevant references, particularly

---

weeks, if not more, are required, in order to achieve a genuine understanding of a single issue and its concomitants.

[24] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 19.

since any error he commits necessarily misleads a number of other scholars.[26] This is especially true since his is the only serious work on *Ḥadīth,* apart from Schacht's on *Ḥadīth.*[27] It is my intention to study his theory critically and in detail, including an examination, investigation and analysis of his main evidence as put forward by him in his book ***Muslim Studies*** regarding the Umayyads' rule.

However, before embarking on this, we deem it necessary to talk about the role of the Qur'ān and the Prophet in establishing and implementing the *Sunnah*, an area that is neglected by Goldziher in his studies. This first thing which one notices

---

[25] As we have indicated earlier that Goldziher's study is considered to be one of the most significant in the field of *Ḥadīth* and has had and continues to have great influence on those who work in this important area; as such it merits close examination.

[26] For example, see his remarks on al-Zuhrī concerning the mosque of Jerusalem as well as diverting the pilgrimage from Makkah to Jerusalem, and their impact on the following writers:

a) Guillaume, ***Traditions of Islam***, pp. 47-8.
b) Hitti, ***History of the Arabs***, p. 220.
c) Buhl, F., art. ***al-Kuds***, in ***EI***[2], ii, 1098.

[27] A'zamī, in his ***Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*** criticized some of Schacht's opinions and showed the weakness of Schacht's ***Origins of Muhamadan Jurisprudence.*** Later on al-A'zamī devoted an independent book, ***On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence***, to criticizing his theories in detail. His analysis covers Schacht's main thesis:

1. Law as such fell outside the sphere of religion. The Prophet did not aim to create a new system of jurisprudence. His authority was not legal. As far as believers were concerned, he derived his authority from the truth of his religious message; skeptics supported him for political reasons.

2. The ancient schools of law, which are still the major recognized schools today, were born in the early decades of the second century A.H. By *sunnah* they originally understood the "living tradition" (*al-amr al-mujtama' 'alaih*), that is, the ideal practices of the community expressed in the accepted doctrine of the school of law. This early concept of *sunnah*, which was not related to the sayings and deeds of the Prophet, formed the basis of the legal theory of these schools.

3. These ancient schools of law gave birth to an opposition party, religiously inspired, that falsely produced detailed information about the Prophet in order to establish a source of authority for its views on jurisprudence.

4. The ancient schools of law tried to resist these factions, but when they saw that the alleged traditions from the Prophet were being imposed more and more on the early concept of *sunnah*, they concluded that "the best they could do was to minimize their import by interpretation, and to embody their own attitude and doctrines in other alleged traditions from the Prophet" - that is, they joined in the deception.

5. As a result, during the second and third centuries A.H. it became the habit of scholars to project their own statements into the mouth of the Prophet.

6. Hardly any legal tradition from the Prophet can, therefore, be considered authentic.

7. The system of *isnād* ("chain of transmitters"), used for the authentication of *ḥadīth* documents, has no historical value. It was invented by those scholars who were falsely attributing

about his research is that he does not refer to the role of the Qur'ān and activity of the Prophet in relation to the *Sunnah*, despite the fact that this is a vital matter, the most cursory examination of which brings to light evidence which calls into question Goldziher's views.[28]

In fact, a number of western studies let pass the role of the Qur'ān in confirming and elevating the status of the *Sunnah* amongst the Muslims and in urging them to follow and act in accordance with it. In addition, these studies do not examine the Qur'anic events related to the disobedience of the Prophet and his commands and prohibitions, and the impact of this on the first generation of Muslims in particular. Furthermore, the Prophetic activity which confirmed and complemented the role of the Qur'ān in the preservation and propagation of his *Sunnah* is neglected, while the collections of *Ḥadīth* are full of descriptions of such activity. Indeed, this trait is evident in a number of western studies related to *Ḥadīth*, where the authors refer to and quote from the books of *Ḥadīth* in order to support their conclusions, while at the same time disregarding many aspects of the same books that contradict their theories, and Goldziher's work also exhibits this tendency. In addition, regarding various topics, Goldziher neglects to refer to *Ḥadīth* sources at all, even though they contain a great deal of essential information on the issue at hand, and instead opts for a selection of historical works which he uses in support of his contentions.

---

their own doctrines back to earlier authorities; as such, it is useful only as a means for dating forgeries. See A'zamī 2, p. 1&2.

[28] A'ẓamī made a similar observation when he said, "The first drawback in the setting of this picture is the complete omission of any reference which could shed some light on educational activities in [sic] early days." See A'zamī, p. 11.

In the light of this, this dissertation focuses on the study and analysis of three main issues:

A. The role of the Qur'ān in establishing the *Sunnah* and affirming its status and the importance of acting in accordance with it.

B. The role of the Prophet in propagating and preserving the *Sunnah.*

C. Goldziher's main evidence for his assertions regarding the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* during the Umayyad era.

Hence, this dissertation has been divided into two parts, along with an introduction and conclusion. In Chapter 1 of the first part, special attention has been given to two issues: First, a clarification of the Qur'ān's urgent requirement for the *Sunnah* since the revelation of the first verses is presented, and second; an examination of the Qur'ān's detailed explanation of the importance of the *Sunnah* and the importance of following and acting according to it. This chapter consists of six sections and a conclusion: Section 1 sheds light on the nature of the Qur'anic texts and their need of the *Sunnah* as well as providing an exhaustive or absolute study of one example of the Qur'anic texts in order to prove this point; Section 2 demonstrates that the term *Sunnah* in the sense of '*Sunnah* of the Prophet' is not mentioned specifically in the Qur'ān, but instead is indicated or referred to by terms such as '*bayān,*' '*al-rasūl,*' '*ma'rūf*' and '*ḥikmah*' in a number of places. Section 3 presents a discussion of the Qur'ān's command to follow the *Sunnah* of the Prophet by obeying him. Section 4 presents a discussion of the Qur'ān's main approaches in encouraging the Companions to follow the Prophet's commands, prohibitions and

instructions; Section 5 presents a discussion of the Qur'ānic injunctions that make it incumbent upon the Muslims to obey the Prophet in all matters and accept his behaviour as most worthy of emulation, etc.; Section 6 presents examples of Qur'anic revelations that were related to specific events in the Muslim Community, that further confirmed the necessity for obedience to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, including his commands, prohibitions, judgements, decisions and instructions and is followed by a conclusion.

Chapter 2 of the first part aims to present and discuss the theoretical and practical roles that were performed by the Prophet in order to preserve his *Sunnah* and spread it among the Muslims.[29] This chapter consists of eight sections and a conclusion: Section 1 presents a discussion of the Prophet's explanation of the status of *Sunnah* through different forms and methods; Section 2 presents a discussion of the Prophet's exhortation and instruction to his Companions to memorize *Ḥadīth* and the effect that this had on their behaviour; Section 3 presents a discussion of the Prophet's methods of urging and commanding his Companions to convey his *Ḥadīth* and the regulations governing that conveyance; Section 4 examines the Prophet's permission and command to his Companions to write down *Ḥadīth*, and their attitude towards that; Section 5 discusses the extensive efforts made by the Prophet in spreading and establishing the *Sunnah* in other regions by means of letters. This chapter also includes a more detailed discussion of a specific subject that was contained in a number of these letters; Section 6 discusses the efforts made by the

[29] This is done through reference to the main books of *Ḥadīth* which are considered to constitute one of the main sources, not excepting western scholars. Goldziher alleges the fabrication of *Ḥadīth*, yet cites *ḥadīths* found in the books of *Ḥadīth* such as al-Bukhārī; Muslim; Abī Dāwūd; al-Ṭirmidhī; al-

Prophet in the propagation of his *Sunnah* in other regions by means of envoys; Section 7 examines the nature of the incoming delegations and their instruction in the *Sunnah*; Section 8 presents a discussion of the Prophet's teaching of the *Sunnah* to his Companions, and the role this played in establishing it. In addition, an in depth examination of his teaching of one specific area will be presented. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the main points of the discussion and presents the findings of the study. [30]

Part Two attempts a rigorous study of Goldziher's theory regarding the fabrication of the *Ḥadīth*, and consists of an introduction, five chapters and a conclusion: In the introduction, we give a general view of Goldziher's theory regarding the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* in the Umayyad era; Chapter 3 contains an analysis of the evidence he cites in support of his claim that the Companions had fabricated *Ḥadīth*, and consists of five sections; Chapter 4 attempts an analysis of the evidence he cites in support of his claim that pious scholars fabricated *Ḥadīth* during the Umayyads' rule, and consists of seven sections; Chapter 5 contains an analysis of his evidence regarding the Umayyads' fabrication of *Ḥadīth*, and consists of five sections; Chapter 6 contains an analysis of his evidence regarding the theologians' fabrication of *Ḥadīth* and consists of four sections; Chapter 7 contains the impact of Goldziher's opinions on subsequent studies, and is followed by the conclusion which includes the results of the study and an appraisal of Goldziher's methodology.

Nasā'ī; Ibn Mājah; Musnad Aḥmad; al-Muwaṭṭa'; al-Dārimī, etc., in support of his arguments, when these are the very sources that he is attempting to prove to be unreliable.

[30] These two chapters could have been omitted had there existed a detailed study of the two issues that they deal with. However, modern researchers have failed to give due attention to these two vital issues.

Methodology and domain of the study

In Chapter One of the first part we attempt to analyse the nature of various parts of the Qur'ānic texts and to establish to what extent and in what ways they have a requirement for what is called *Sunnah.* We will also explore the Quranic texts which establish the status of *Sunnah* and the importance of following it and acting according to it.

In Chapter Two of the same part we attempt a study of some of the most important roles that were carried out by the Prophet, with a separate section allocated to each role. We will analyse and carry out a descriptive study of these roles and give as much evidence as we can in the main text. We will exert as much effort as possible to mention in the footnotes as many different sources as possible in which the evidence relevant to the issue under discussion is mentioned. This is to indicate that the evidence exists in a repeated form and has come through more than one chain of transmission (*isnād*).

Part Two consists of the study, evaluation and analysis of Goldziher's theories and opinions which requires patience, extensive reading, thorough scrutiny and the tracing of his evidence to its original sources. This is in addition to having a thorough understanding of the significance and implications of proof texts, while comparing them with the narrations and appraising them in the context of the events surrounding them, in order to arrive at what they, in reality, aim at. It lies outwith our aims and ability to discuss the entire contents of the second volume of Goldzihers'

book, ***Muslim Studies***. We will confine ourselves to an analysis of the most significant evidence he provides relating to the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* during the Umayyad era, which he discusses in the first sections of his second chapter. In general, we will only study the evidence he cites as clearly indicating the fabrication of *Ḥadīth*, except where a wider scope is of benefit. Before discussing any claim made by Goldziher, we present it in his own words. We also present his sources within square brackets [ ]. Also, we have often found it useful to present the Arabic texts on which he bases his conclusions, in the original and in translation, so that they can be employed as references which indicate to what extent his understanding and deductions are correct. We will also present a number of items of evidence in the footnotes in their original language in order to enrich the discussion and to further illustrate essential aspects of various issues. On many points of discussion in this thesis, and in this part in particular, the presentation of one of the selection of evidences we have gathered in support of our arguments would be sufficient to establish their veracity. However, in many cases, we will, for the sake of comprehensiveness, present all of the available evidence.

As the aim of this part is to deal with the main issues discussed by Goldziher; it is noteworthy that there are issues raised by Goldziher, relating to the Umayyad era, which are not discussed here but which have been noted, as there may be an opportunity to consider them in the future. It seems, however, that the issues that are presented and discussed in this part are the most important ones and can be considered to constitute the premise on which other issues are based.

Points to which attention should be drawn

1. The system of transliteration shown in the 'key to transliteration' is adopted throughout the thesis, with the exception of direct quotations. In general, an attempt has been made to translate the Arabic terms and give their Arabic form in brackets afterwards where this was felt necessary. However, some terms are used in their transliterated form after the English translation has been given. Certain well-known terms have been given in their Arabic form only. Such terms include '*Sunnah*' and '*Ḥadīth*'. Where necessary the English plural has been used for such words. Well-known place names have been given in their English forms, e.g. Egypt, Syria, Oman, with the exceptions of 'Makkah' and 'Madīnah'. Other place names are given either fully transliterated or in a compromise form.

2. In quoting the Qur'ān, I am dependent on the revised edition of the translation of the meanings of the Qur'ān, by Dr. Muhammad Taqi-ud Din al-Hilali and Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan. Infrequently, I have found it favorable to amend the translation where it seems to me the meaning can be better reflected.

3. Regarding the *ḥadīths*, I have benefited from the following translations: ***Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*** by Muḥammad Muhsin Khan; ***Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*** by 'Abdul Ḥamīd Ṣiddīqī; ***Sunan AbīDāwūd*** by Aḥmad Ḥasan; incomplete translation of ***Sunan Ibn Mājah*** by Muḥammad Tufail Anṣārī; the first volume of ***Sunan al-Nasā'ī*** by Muḥammad Iqbāl Ṣiddīqī and translations of ***al-Muwaṭṭa'*** by Mohammed Rahimuddin and F. Amira Zrein Matraji respectively.

4. Where texts are referred to in the footnotes, an abbreviation is given, and followed by a number or one or two letters when the author has more than one book quoted in

this thesis; this number or letter indicates the book cited, which can thus be readily identified in the abbreviations list.

5. In the various editions of ***Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Sunan Abī Dāwūd, Sunan al-Nasā'ī, Sunan al-Tirmidhī, Sunan Ibn Mājah, Sunan al-Dārimī*** and ***Muwaṭṭa' Mālik,*** the page, and sometimes the volume numbers, differ between the editions of a collection. Therefore, it is appropriate whenever we cite a certain text, to mention in footnote form the name of the Kitāb (book), the Bāb (chapter) number and the *ḥadīth* number (for example: Bukhārī, kitāb *al-'ilm*, bāb no. 37, ḥadīth no. 104), and ignore the chapter numbers when we cite from ***Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*** and ***Muwaṭṭa' Mālik*** (for example: Muslim, kitāb *al-imārah*, ḥadīth no. 24). It will thus be easier to find the cited text in any edition. However, the reader is kindly requested to refer to the same edition that we have depended on, in the event of their wanting to check a *ḥadīth* that appears in the diagrams on pages 226-229. It is worth mentioning that the *ḥadīth* numbers cited in this thesis are sufficient only when the reader refers to the edition that we have used.

6. In some cases we find that it is appropriate to put some expressions between square brackets for clarity.

7. For the sake of abbreviation I have left out honorific, conventional statements, even in quotations, such as 'Blessed and Exalted' after the names of Allāh, 'Peace be upon him' after the names of the Prophets, and 'May Allāh be pleased with him' after the names of the Companions; Muslim readers are kindly requested to apply them as they read.

PART 1

THE QUR'ĀN AND THE PROPHET

Study And Analysis Of The Role Of The Qur'ān And The Prophet Toward The *Sunnah*

INTRODUCTION

ḤĀDĪTH AND *SUNNAH,* THEIR MEANING AND USAGE

ḤADĪTH, ITS MEANING AND USAGE

The meaning of '*ḥadīth*'

The Arabic word *ḥadīth* (plural: *aḥādīth*) literally means; 'communication'; 'speech'; 'story'; or 'conversation', whether religious or secular, historical or contemporary.[1] The word is employed in this sense in the Qur'ān and by the Prophet.

The use of the word '*ḥadīth*' in the Qur'ān

The word *ḥadīth* is used in the Qur'ān in many different ways:

1. Speech

﴿وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يَشْتَرِي لَهْوَ الْحَدِيثِ لِيُضِلَّ عَن سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ وَيَتَّخِذَهَا هُزُوًا أُولَٰئِكَ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ مُّهِينٌ﴾

"And of mankind is he who purchases idle *ḥadīth* (speech) to mislead (men) from the Path of Allāh without knowledge, and takes it (the Path of Allāh, the Verses of the Qur'ān) by way of mockery. For such there will be a humiliating torment (in the Hell-fire)." (Q. 31:6). See also: Q. 4:42; 4:78; 4:87; 4:140; 6:68 and 45:6.

2. Religious communication, message or the Qur'ān

﴿فَلَعَلَّكَ بَاخِعٌ نَّفْسَكَ عَلَىٰ آثَارِهِمْ إِن لَّمْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِهَٰذَا الْحَدِيثِ أَسَفًا﴾

"Perhaps, you, would kill yourself (O Muḥammad) in grief, over their footsteps (for their turning away from you), because they believe not in this *Ḥadīth* (the Qur'ān)." (Q. 18:6). See also: Q. 7:185; 39:23; 52:34; 53:59; 56:81; 68:44 and 77:50.

---

[1] Whenever it is used as an adjective it means 'new'.

3. Historical story or tidings

﴿هَلْ أَتَاكَ حَدِيثُ ضَيْفِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْمُكْرَمِينَ﴾

"Has the *ḥadīth* (story) reached you, of the honoured guests [three angels; Gabriel along with another two] of Abraham?" (Q. 51:24). See also: Q. 20:9; 79:15; and 85:17-18.

﴿هَلْ أَتَاكَ حَدِيثُ الْغَاشِيَةِ﴾

"Has there come to you the *ḥadīth* (tidings) of the overwhelming (i.e. the Day of Resurrection)." (Q. 88:1) See also: Q. 12:111.

4. Current story of a secular, secret or conversation

﴿وَإِذْ أَسَرَّ النَّبِيُّ إِلَىٰ بَعْضِ أَزْوَاجِهِ حَدِيثًا فَلَمَّا نَبَّأَتْ بِهِ وَأَظْهَرَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ عَرَّفَ بَعْضَهُ وَأَعْرَضَ عَنْ بَعْضٍ فَلَمَّا نَبَّأَهَا بِهِ قَالَتْ مَنْ أَنْبَأَكَ هَٰذَا قَالَ نَبَّأَنِيَ الْعَلِيمُ الْخَبِيرُ﴾

"And (remember) when the Prophet disclosed a *ḥadith* (a secret) in confidence to one of his wives (Ḥafṣah), so when she told it (to another i.e. 'Ā'ishah), and Allāh made it known to him, he informed part thereof and left a part. Then when he told her (Ḥafṣah) thereof, she said: 'Who told you this?' He said: 'The All-Knower, the All-Aware (Allāh) has told me.'" (Q. 66:3)

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَدْخُلُوا بُيُوتَ النَّبِيِّ إِلَّا أَنْ يُؤْذَنَ لَكُمْ إِلَىٰ طَعَامٍ غَيْرَ نَاظِرِينَ إِنَاهُ وَلَٰكِنْ إِذَا دُعِيتُمْ فَادْخُلُوا فَإِذَا طَعِمْتُمْ فَانْتَشِرُوا وَلَا مُسْتَأْنِسِينَ لِحَدِيثٍ إِنَّ ذَٰلِكُمْ كَانَ يُؤْذِي النَّبِيَّ فَيَسْتَحْيِي مِنْكُمْ وَاللَّهُ لَا يَسْتَحْيِي مِنَ الْحَقِّ...﴾

"O you who believe! Enter not the Prophet's houses, except when leave is given to you for a meal, (and then) not (so early as) to wait for its preparation. But when you are invited, enter, and when you have taken your meal, disperse, without sitting for a *ḥadīth* (conversation). Verily, such (behaviour) annoys the Prophet, and he is shy of (asking) you (to go), but Allāh is not shy of (telling you) the truth... ." (Q. 33:53)

The use of the word '*ḥadīth*' by the Prophet

The word was used in the same sense by the Prophet as it is in the Qur'ān.

The following are a few examples:

1. Speech

عَنِ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ قَالَ وَزَعَمَ عُرْوَةُ أَنَّ مَرْوَانَ بْنَ الْحَكَمِ وَالْمِسْوَرَ بْنَ مَخْرَمَةَ أَخْبَرَاهُ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَامَ حِينَ جَاءَهُ وَفْدُ هَوَازِنَ مُسْلِمِينَ فَسَأَلُوهُ أَنْ يَرُدَّ إِلَيْهِمْ أَمْوَالَهُمْ وَسَبْيَهُمْ فَقَالَ لَهُمْ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: "أَحَبُّ الْحَدِيثِ إِلَيَّ أَصْدَقُهُ . . . ."

Marwān and al-Miswar b. Makhramah reported that when the delegate of Hawāzin came to Allāh's Apostle, he got up and said to them, "... the most beloved *ḥadīth* (speech) to me, is the true one... ."[2]

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "اتَّقُوا الْحَدِيثَ عَنِّي إِلَّا مَا عَلِمْتُمْ فَمَنْ كَذَبَ عَلَيَّ مُتَعَمِّدًا فَلْيَتَبَوَّأْ مَقْعَدَهُ مِنَ النَّارِ . . . ."

Ibn 'Abbās narrated that the Prophet said, "Beware of transmitting my speech or action unless you know that I have said it or done it (*ittaqū al-ḥadītha 'annī illā mā 'alimtum*). For whoever tells a lie on me intentionally then (surely) let him occupy his seat in Hell-fire.'"[3]

2. Religious communication

عَنْ جَابِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَ يَقُولُ فِي خُطْبَتِهِ بَعْدَ التَّشَهُّدِ: "إِنَّ أَحْسَنَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَأَحْسَنَ الْهَدْيِ هَدْيُ مُحَمَّدٍ . . . ."

Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, says, "The prophet used to say in his *khuṭbah* ..., 'The most excellent *ḥadīth* is the book of Allāh, and the best guidance is Muḥammad's guidance... .'"[4]

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَنَّهُ قَالَ: "قُلْتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ: مَنْ أَسْعَدُ النَّاسِ بِشَفَاعَتِكَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ؟" فَقَالَ "لَقَدْ ظَنَنْتُ يَا أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ أَنْ لَا يَسْأَلُنِي عَنْ هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ أَحَدٌ أَوَّلُ مِنْكَ لِمَا رَأَيْتُ مِنْ حِرْصِكَ عَلَى الْحَدِيثِ، أَسْعَدُ النَّاسِ بِشَفَاعَتِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ مَنْ قَالَ: 'لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ خَالِصًا مِنْ قِبَلِ نَفْسِهِ.'"

Narrated Abū Hurayrah I said, "O Allāh's Apostle! who will be the luckiest person who will gain your intercession on the Day of Resurrection?" The Prophet said, "O Abū Hurayrah! I have thought that none will ask me about this *ḥadīth* before you, as I know your longing for [the learning] of *Ḥadīth* (the sayings of the Prophet). The luckiest person who will have my intercession on the Day of Resurrection will be the one who said sincerely from the bottom of his heart: 'None has the right to be worshipped but Allāh.'"[5]

---

[2] Bukhārī, k. *al-Wakālah*, ba. no. 7, ḥ. no. 2308.

[3] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Tafsīr*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 2951; *Musnad* 1, vol. 1, P. 293,323; See also Ibn 'Adī, vol. 1, P. 12; Mishkāt, k. *al-'Ilm*, Chapter tow, ḥ. no.232.

[4] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 14022.

[5] Bukhārī, k. *al-Riqāq*, bā. no. 51, ḥ. no. 6570; k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 33, ḥ. no. 99; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 8641; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 2, p. 364; vol. 4, p. 330. When the Prophet remarked to Abū Hurayrah that he knew his anxiety about the *Ḥadīth*, he was referring to his own *Ḥadīth*.

عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ ثَابِتٍ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: "نَضَّرَ اللَّهُ امْرَأً سَمِعَ مِنَّا حَدِيثًا فَحَفِظَهُ حَتَّى يُبَلِّغَهُ فَرُبَّ حَامِلِ فِقْهٍ إِلَى مَنْ هُوَ أَفْقَهُ مِنْهُ وَرُبَّ حَامِلِ فِقْهٍ لَيْسَ بِفَقِيهٍ."

Zayd b. Thābit said, "I heard the Apostle of Allāh say, 'May Allāh brighten a man who hears a *ḥadīth* from us, learns it by heart and passes it on to others. Many a bearer of knowledge conveys it to one who is more versed than he is, and many a bearer of knowledge is not versed in it.'"[6]

3. Historical story

عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيِّ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "حَدِّثُوا عَنِّي، وَلَا تَكْذِبُوا عَلَيَّ، وَمَنْ كَذَبَ عَلَيَّ مُتَعَمِّدًا فَلْيَتَبَوَّأْ مَقْعَدَهُ مِنَ النَّارِ، وَحَدِّثُوا عَنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَلَا حَرَجَ."

Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī narrated that the Prophet said, "Narrate *ḥadīth* from me and do not tell a lie about me for whoever tells a lie on me intentionally then (surely) let him occupy his seat in Hell-fire. You may narrate *ḥadīth* from Banū Isrā'īl."[7]

4. Current story, secret or conversation

عَنْ جَابِرِ ابْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "إِذَا حَدَّثَ الرَّجُلُ الْحَدِيثَ ثُمَّ الْتَفَتَ فَهِيَ أَمَانَةٌ."

Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh reported that the Prophet says, "If someone tells a *ḥadīth* (secret) then goes his way, his words become a trust."[8]

عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "... وَمَنِ اسْتَمَعَ إِلَى حَدِيثِ قَوْمٍ وَهُمْ لَهُ كَارِهُونَ أَوْ يَفِرُّونَ مِنْهُ صُبَّ فِي أُذُنِهِ الْآنُكُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ ... ."

Ibn 'Abbās narrated that the Prophet said,"... One who tries to eavesdrop on the *ḥadīth* (conversation) of the people when they dislike his doing so and want to keep away from him, in the Hereafter hot copper would be poured in his ear... ."[9]

The examples above indicate that the word *ḥadīth* connotes 'speech', 'story' or 'communication.'

Due to the profound influence of Islam, the broad meaning of *ḥadīth* has changed. The Muslims, since the lifetime of the Prophet himself, have called reports

[6] Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 3660.
[7] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 11032.
[8] Tirmithī, k. *al-Birr wa al-ṣilah*, bā. no. 39, ḥ. no. 1959.
[9] Bukhārī, k. *al-Ta'bīr*, ba. no. 45, ḥ. no. 7042; Dāwūd, k. *al-Adab*, bā. no. 96, ḥ. no. 5024; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 3373.

of his sayings and actions '*Ḥadīth*', and, over time, use of the word became increasingly confined to such reports.

The Prophet himself appears to have used the term in this sense as we have seen in some of the above examples, as did many Companions. 'Ā'ishah meant the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet when she said, "... the Apostle of Allāh never related the *Ḥadīth* so quickly as you do."[10] When he asked his companions not to narrate too many *ḥadīths*, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was referring to the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet.[11] When Ibn 'Abbās informed his Companions that they used to memorize the *Ḥadīth* (*kunnā naḥfaẓ al-Ḥadīth*), he meant Prophetic *Ḥadīth*.[12] Also, when he[13] and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī[14] urged their students to revise the *Ḥadīth*, they also were referring to Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. Likewise, when Abū Mūsā[15] and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī[16] commanded their students to memorize the *Ḥadīth*, as they did in the time of the Prophet, they intended by that the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet.

SUNNAH, ITS MEANING AND USAGE

The meaning of '*sunnah*'

[10] Bukhārī, k. *al-Manāqib*, bā. no. 23, ḥ. no. 3568.
[11] *Mustadrak*, vol. 1, p. 183, no. 347. See also *Bayān*, vol. 2, pp. 120-21.
[12] Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. 38, ḥ. no. 427.
[13] Ibid., bā. 51, ḥ. no. 600.
[14] Ibid., ḥ. no. 595.
[15] *Bayān*, p. 66.
[16] Ibid., p. 64.

Arabic lexicographers define *sunnah* as follows: 'a way, course, rules, mode or manner of acting, or conduct of life.'[17]

The word '*sunnah*' occurs sixteen times in the Qur'ān; in every case in the sense of an established course of rule, a law, or mode of conduct.[18]

The use of the word '*sunnah*' in the Qur'ān

The word '*sunnah*' is used in the Qur'ān in two forms:

1. The *sunnah* of Allāh with regards to the ancients (*sunnat al-awwalīn*)

﴿وَمَا مَنَعَ النَّاسَ أَن يُؤْمِنُوا إِذْ جَاءَهُمُ الْهُدَىٰ وَيَسْتَغْفِرُوا رَبَّهُمْ إِلَّا أَن تَأْتِيَهُمْ سُنَّةُ الْأَوَّلِينَ أَوْ يَأْتِيَهُمُ الْعَذَابُ قُبُلًا﴾

"And nothing prevents men from believing, (now) when the guidance (the Qur'ān) has come to them, and from asking Forgiveness from their Lord, except that the *Sunnah* (the way) of the ancients be repeated with them (i.e. their destruction as decreed by Allāh), or the torment be brought to them face to face?" (Q. 18:55). See also: Q. 3:137; 4:26; 8:38; 15:13; 17:77 and 35:43.

2. The *sunnah* of Allāh (*sunnat Allāh*)

﴿مَا كَانَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ مِنْ حَرَجٍ فِيمَا فَرَضَ اللَّهُ لَهُ سُنَّةَ اللَّهِ فِي الَّذِينَ خَلَوْا مِن قَبْلُ وَكَانَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ قَدَرًا مَقْدُورًا﴾

"There is no blame on to the Prophet in that which Allāh has made legal for him. That has been Allāh's *Sunnah* (practice; way) with those who have passed away of (the Prophets of) old. And the command of Allāh is a decree determined." (Q. 33:38). See also: Q. 17:77; 33:62**; 35:43**; 40:85 and 48:23**

The use of the word '*sunnah*' by the Prophet

عَنْ مَالِك أَنَّه بَلَغَه أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "تَرَكْتُ فِيكُمْ أَمْرَيْنِ لَنْ تَضِلُّوا مَا تَمَسَّكْتُمْ بِهِمَا كِتَابَ اللَّهِ وَسُنَّةَ نَبِيِّهِ."

1. Mālik b. Anas in his book *al-Muwaṭṭa'* states that the Prophet said, "I have left two matters with you. As long as you hold to them, you will never go astray. They are the Book of Allāh and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet."[19] A similar statement is

[17] See Ibn Manẓūr, ***Lisān al-'arab***, art: *sanan*; E.W. Lane, ***Arabic English lexicon*** (Edinburgh 1867), vol. 4, p. 1438.
[18] See J. Penrice, ***Dictionary and Glossary of the Koran***, (London, 1875) pp. 72-3.
[19] Mālik, k. *al-qadar*, ḥ. no. 3.

recorded in Ibn Isḥāq's ***Sīrah***, where Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/768) mentions that the Prophet said in his sermon at the Farewell *ḥajj*,

"... وَقَدْ تَرَكْتُ فِيكُمْ مَا إِنْ اِعْتَصَمْتُمْ بِهِ فَلَنْ تَضِلُّوا أَبَدًا، أَمْرًا بَيِّنًا، كِتَابَ اللهِ وَسُنَّةَ نَبِيِّهِ. أَيهَا النَاس، اِسْمَعُوا قَوْلِي وَاعْقِلُوه ... ."

"... I have left with you something which if you will hold fast to it you will never go astray, a plain indication, the book of Allāh and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet, so give good heed to what I say... ."[20]

2. Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/768) mentioned that, the Prophet sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b in Najrān in year ten. He ordered him to invite them to embrace Islam before he fought them. If they embraced Islam, then he should teach them Islam, the book of Allāh and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.[21] Khālid wrote to the Prophet informing him that they had embraced Islam and that he had stayed with them to teach them the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*:[22]

"من خالد بن الوليد، السلام عليك يا رسول الله ورحمة الله وبركاته، فإني أحمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلاّ هو، أما بعد يا رسول الله صلى الله عليك، فإنك بعثتني إلى بني الحارث بن كعب، وأمرتني إذا أتيتهم ألا أقاتلهم ثلاثة أيام، وأن أدعوهم إلى الإسلام، فإن أسلموا أقمت فيهم، وعلمتهم معالم الإسلام وكتاب الله وسنة نبيه، وإن لم يسلموا قاتلتهم. وإني قدمت عليهم فدعوتُهم إلى الإسلام ثلاثة أيام، كما أمرني رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، وبعثت فيهم ركباناً، قالوا : يابني الحارث، أسلموا تسلموا، فأسلموا ولم يقاتلوا، وأنا مقيم بين أظهرهم، آمرهم بما أمرهم الله به وأنهاهم عما نهاهم الله عنه، وأعلّمهم معالم الإسلام وسنة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم حتى يكتب إليّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، والسلام عليك يا رسول الله ورحمة الله وبركاته".

The Prophet subsequently asked him to come back to Madīnah in the company of their delegation.[23] When they left, the Prophet sent 'Amr b. Ḥazm as a replacement with the same task; to instruct them in religion and to teach them the *Sunnah* and the principles of Islam.[24]

3. Al-'Irbāḍ b. Sāriyah said, 'One day the Apostle of Allāh led us in prayer, then faced us and gave us a lengthy exhortation at which eyes shed tears and hearts were afraid. A man said, 'Apostle of Allāh! It seems as if it were a farewell exhortation, so what injunction do you give us?' He then said,

"أُوصِيكُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللّهِ وَالسَّمْعِ وَالطَّاعَةِ وَإِنْ عَبْدًا حَبَشِيًّا فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ يَعِشْ مِنْكُمْ بَعْدِي فَسَيَرَى اخْتِلَافًا كَثِيرًا فَعَلَيْكُمْ بِسُنَّتِي وَسُنَّةِ الْخُلَفَاءِ الْمَهْدِيِّينَ الرَّاشِدِينَ تَمَسَّكُوا بِهَا وَعَضُّوا عَلَيْهَا بِالنَّوَاجِذِ وَإِيَّاكُمْ وَمُحْدَثَاتِ الْأُمُورِ فَإِنَّ كُلَّ مُحْدَثَةٍ بِدْعَةٌ وَكُلَّ بِدْعَةٍ ضَلَالَةٌ."

[20] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 604; *Mustadrak*, vol. 1, pp. 171-2.
[21] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 592; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 339.
[22] Hishām 1, vol. 2, pp. 592-3.
[23] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 339; Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 593.
[24] Hishām 1, vol. 2, pp. 594-6.

'I enjoin you to fear Allāh, and to hear and obey even if it be an Abyssinian slave, for those of you who live after me will see great disagreement. You must then follow my *Sunnah* and that of the rightly-guided caliphs. Hold to it and stick fast to it. Avoid novelties, for every novelty is an innovation, and every innovation is an error.'"[25]

4. He firmly objected to those who violated his *Sunnah*, even, as in this case, when the violation consisted of an excess committed with the intention of emulating him more closely. Anas b. Mālik said, "A group of three men came to the houses of the wives of the Prophet asking how the Prophet worshipped (Allāh). When they were informed about that, they considered their worship insufficient and said, 'Where are we in relation to the Prophet as his past and future sins have been forgiven.' Then one of them said, 'I will offer the prayer throughout the night forever.' The other said, 'I will fast throughout the year and will not break my fast.' The third said, 'I will keep away from women and will never marry.' Allāh's Apostle came to them and said,

"أَنْتُمُ الَّذِينَ قُلْتُمْ كَذَا وَكَذَا أَمَا وَاللَّهِ إِنِّي لَأَخْشَاكُمْ لِلَّهِ وَأَتْقَاكُمْ لَهُ لَكِنِّي أَصُومُ وَأُفْطِرُ وَأُصَلِّي وَأَرْقُدُ وَأَتَزَوَّجُ النِّسَاءَ فَمَنْ رَغِبَ عَنْ سُنَّتِي فَلَيْسَ مِنِّي."

'Are you the same people who said so and so? By Allāh, I am more submissive to Allāh and more afraid of Him than you, yet I fast and break my fast, I do sleep and I also marry women. So he who turns away from my *Sunnah*, is not from me (i.e. not one of my followers).'"[26]

عَنْ عمرو بن عوف قَالَ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى الله عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: "مَنْ أَحْيَا سُنَّةً مِنْ سُنَّتِي قَدْ أُمِيتَتْ بَعْدِي فَإِنَّ لَهُ مِنَ الْأَجْرِ مِثْلَ أَجْرِ مَنْ عَمِلَ بِهَا مِنَ النَّاسِ لَا يَنْقُصُ مِنْ أُجُورِ النَّاسِ شَيْئًا وَمَنِ ابْتَدَعَ بِدْعَةً لَا يَرْضَاهَا اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ فَإِنَّ عَلَيْهِ مِثْلَ إِثْمِ مَنْ عَمِلَ بِهَا مِنَ النَّاسِ لَا يَنْقُصُ مِنْ آثَامِ النَّاسِ شَيْئًا."

5. 'Amr b. 'Awf narrated that the Prophet said, "He who revives a *sunnah* of mine that was extinct after me, would also receive a reward the same as that of one of the people that acts upon it, without any diminution in people's rewards... ."[27]

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مَسْعُودٍ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى الله عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "سَيَلِي أُمُورَكُمْ بَعْدِي رِجَالٌ يُطْفِئُونَ السُّنَّةَ وَيَعْمَلُونَ بِالْبِدْعَةِ وَيُؤَخِّرُونَ الصَّلَاةَ عَنْ مَوَاقِيتِهَا ... ."

6. 'Abd Allāh [Ibn Mas'ūd] is reported to have said that the Prophet said, "After me the men in charge of your affairs will be those who will make extinct the *Sunnah* (practice of the Prophet), act upon an innovation ... ."[28]

---

[25] Dāwūd, k. *al-Sunnah*, bā. no. 6, ḥ. no. 4607; Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 16, ḥ. no. 2676; Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 6, ḥ. no. 42 & 44; *Musnad* 1, ḥ. no. 16692, 16694-5; Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 16, ḥ. no. 95.

[26] Bukhārī, k. *al-nikāḥ*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 5063; Muslim, k. *al-nikāḥ*, ḥ. no. 1401; Nasā'ī, k. *al-nikāḥ*, bā. no. , ḥ. no. 3217; *Musnad* 1, ḥ. no. 13122, 13316 and 13631.

[27] Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 15, ḥ. no. 210; Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 16, ḥ. no. 2677. See also: Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 15, ḥ. no. 209.

حَدَّثَنَا حُذَيْفَةُ قَالَ: ''حَدَّثَنَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَدِيثَيْنِ رَأَيْتُ أَحَدَهُمَا وَأَنَا أَنْتَظِرُ الْآخَرَ حَدَّثَنَا: 'أَنَّ الْأَمَانَةَ نَزَلَتْ فِي جَذْرِ قُلُوبِ الرِّجَالِ، ثُمَّ عَلِمُوا مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ، ثُمَّ عَلِمُوا مِنَ السُّنَّةِ.' وَحَدَّثَنَا عَنْ رَفْعِهَا ... .''

7. Ḥudhayfah narrated, "Allāh's Apostle related to us, two *ḥadīths* one of which I have seen fulfilled and I am waiting for the fulfilment of the other. The Prophet told us that: 'The virtue of honesty descended in the roots of men's hearts (from Allāh) and then they learned it from the Qur'ān and then they learned it from the *Sunnah.*' The Prophet. … ."[29]

8. Some desert Arabs clad in woollen clothes came to Allāh's Apostle. He saw them in a sad plight as they had been hard pressed by need. He (the Prophet) exhorted people to give charity, but they showed some reluctance until (signs) of anger could be seen on his face. Then a man from the Anṣār came with a purse containing silver. Then came another one and then other people followed them in succession until signs of happiness could be seen on his face. Thereupon Allāh's Apostle said,

''مَنْ سَنَّ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ سُنَّةً حَسَنَةً فَعُمِلَ بِهَا بَعْدَهُ كُتِبَ لَهُ مِثْلُ أَجْرِ مَنْ عَمِلَ بِهَا وَلَا يَنْقُصُ مِنْ أُجُورِهِمْ شَيْءٌ، وَمَنْ سَنَّ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ سُنَّةً سَيِّئَةً فَعُمِلَ بِهَا بَعْدَهُ كُتِبَ عَلَيْهِ مِثْلُ وِزْرِ مَنْ عَمِلَ بِهَا وَلَا يَنْقُصُ مِنْ أَوْزَارِهِمْ شَيْءٌ.''

"He who establishes a good *sunnah* (practice) in Islam, which is followed after him (by people), will be assured a reward like those who followed it, without their rewards being diminished in any respect. And he who establishes an evil *sunnah* (practice) in Islam which is followed subsequently by others), he will bear the burden like that of those who followed this (evil practice) without theirs being diminished in any respect."[30]

Thus, in all these quotations the word has been used in its literary meaning, and it appears in this sense in the Qur'ān. Any individual can establish a good or bad *sunnah*, as we have seen in the last example, if it is followed by others. The word *sunnah* as a term '*sunnah* of the Prophet' came into common use during the life of the Prophet as used by him in the above examples and by Allāh when He ordered

---

[28] Ibn Mājah, k. *al-Jihād*, bā. no. 40, ḥ. no. 2865; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 3780.

[29] Bukhārī, k. *al-fitan*, bā. no. 13, ḥ. no. 7086; Muslim, k. *al-Īmān*, ḥ. no. 230; Tirmidhī, k. *al-fitan*, bā. no. 17, ḥ. no. 2179; Ibn Mājah, k. *al-fitan*, bā. no. 27, ḥ. no. 4053; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 22744.

[30] Muslim, k. *al-'Ilm*, ḥ. no. 15; k. *al-Zakāh*, ḥ. no. 69. This quotation implies that if anyone; whatever his beliefs or behaviour, consciously originates an act which is subsequently followed by others, then it becomes his *sunnah*.

obedience to the Prophet as binding on the Muslims, and stipulated that they should take his life as an example.[31]

In time, the term came to refer almost exclusively to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, so that, towards the end of the second century when it appeared in legal texts, it referred almost exclusively to the norms set by the Prophet or deduced from his behaviour or authentic *aḥādīth.*

The terms *sunnah* and *ḥadīth* were, to a large extent, used interchangeably despite the existence of a slight difference between their meanings: *Ḥadīth* means 'the narration of the life of the Prophet'; *Sunnah* means 'mode of life'; and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet means 'the mode of the life of the Prophet.'[32] Nevertheless, a *ḥadīth* may contain one or more *sunnah*, but on occasion may contain none at all. However, to avoid confusion in this thesis, we shall use them as interchangeable terms, as has been the practice of the majority of Muslim scholars up until this day.

---

[31] See Chapter 1 of the first part.

[32] Al-Aẓamī discusses the claim of various modern scholars that Shāfi'ī was the first to define *sunnah* as the model behavior of the Prophet. He says, "As I have mentioned earlier, the term '*sunnah*' as such is not restricted to the '*sunnah*' of the Prophet. Therefore we find this term sometimes used for others than the Prophet as well, which resulted in some misunderstanding by modern scholars. It is claimed by some modern scholars that Shāfi'ī was the first to define *sunnah* as the model behaviour of the Prophet. The problem would not have arisen if they had realized that the concept of *sunnah* predated the definition of that term.

The powers of legislation, for example, are determined by the constitutions of modern states. When constitutions endorse the legislative powers and the range of their legislation, nobody can challenge them or claim rightfully that he is not to be bound by them. Thus - according to Islamic concepts - it is not for the lawyers but for Almighty Allah who is the Law-Giver to determine the legislative authority if there is any.

The Qur'ān never says that the source of law is *sunnah* so that the early time of obedience to the Messenger of Allah, which is obligatory, and mentions his example which ought to be followed. Therefore, even if one agrees that the early scholars used this word or term in a broad sense, it should not create any perplexity because the source of law is not this particular 'word' or 'term' but the concept which derives its authority directly from the Qur'ān.

When we come to this concept, we find it is clearly endorsed by the Qur'ān, as we have seen earlier, and explicitly accepted by early lawyers. Hence we may conclude that the *sunnah* of the Prophet is a must for Muslims, be they individuals, communities or states." See Methodology, pp. 7-8.

CHAPTER 1

THE QUR'ĀN AND THE *SUNNAH*

Study And Analysis Of The Role Of The Qur'ān In Establishing The *Sunnah*, And Affirming Its Status And The Importance Of Acting In Accordance With It

Section 1: The Qur'ān's urgent requirement for the *Sunnah*.

Section 2: The Qur'ān and the term 'the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.'

Section 3: The Qur'ān's command to follow the *Sunnah* of the Prophet by obeying him.

Section 4: The Qur'ānic approaches to indicating the necessity of (e.g. *targhīb* and *tarhīb*) following of the *Sunnah*.

Section 5: The Qur'ān's commanding to abide by what the Prophet has brought, abstain from what he has forbidden, and accept his judgement.

Section 6: A review of events described in the Qur'ān which demonstrate that obedience to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet is required of Muslims, which includes the following of his commands, prohibitions, judgements, decisions and instructions. Three examples are given below:

1. The punishment described in the Qur'ān as being inflicted on the believers who disobey the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (his order).
2. The objection stated in the Qur'ān to those who reject the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (his judgement or decision).
3. The acceptance described in the Qur'ān of the repentance of the three Companions who did not carry out the *Sunnah* (his command).

Conclusion: Presents the findings that the present chapter has reached.

SECTION 1

THE QUR'ĀN'S URGENT REQUIREMENT FOR THE *SUNNAH*

When explaining in what way the Qur'ān helped in the preservation and spread of Prophetic *ḥadīths*, it is useful to begin by posing the question, 'Why refer to the Qur'ān?' In other words, 'Why consider the Qur'ān as an indisputable reference?' The answer is simply that a scientific approach makes it incumbent on every researcher, regardless of his personal beliefs, to do so if the subject of his research is Islam, its Prophet or the Muslims. A non-Muslim may doubt the Qur'ān's divine origin, but if Islam and its adherents fall within the scope of his research, he should also be able to approach it in the light of what Muslims unanimously assert; that the Holy Qur'ān is authentic and to be acted upon.

It might seem novel to say that the Qur'ān was one of the most important factors in necessitating the existence of *Ḥadīth* texts and their preservation and dissemination, and indeed, was so from the beginning of its revelation. On looking closely at the Qur'ān, we find that most of its rulings are of a general nature, and that there are various verses that require further elucidation regarding, for example:

A. Matters of creed, such as: belief in the angels; the Prophets; the Last Day; predestination; the straight path; the balance; judgement etc;

b. ritual questions regarding: purification; prayer; *zakāh*; fasting; *ḥajj*; *umrah*; and the slaughtering of animals;

c. business transactions including: buying and selling; usury; lending; mortgages etc;

d. questions of penalties, such as: those which pertain to physical or sexual assault; slander; or assault on property etc.

For this reason, the Qur'ān, on several occasions, entrusts the Prophet alone with the task of explaining and detailing the rulings made in those verses, including the following:

﴿وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِن رَّسُولٍ إِلَّا بِلِسَانِ قَوْمِهِ لِيُبَيِّنَ لَهُمْ ...﴾

1. "We sent not a messenger except with the language of his people, in order that he might make (the Message) clear for them." (Q. 14:4)

﴿... وَأَنزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الذِّكْرَ لِتُبَيِّنَ لِلنَّاسِ مَا نُزِّلَ إِلَيْهِمْ وَلَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ﴾

2. "... And we have also sent down unto you (O Muḥammad) the Qur'ān (*al-Dhikr*) that you may explain clearly to men (*li-tubayyina li-l-nās*) what is sent down to them, and that they may give thought." (Q. 16:44)

﴿لَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ بَعَثَ فِيهِمْ رَسُولًا مِّنْ أَنفُسِهِمْ يَتْلُوا عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتِهِ وَيُزَكِّيهِمْ وَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَإِن كَانُوا مِن قَبْلُ لَفِي ضَلَالٍ مُّبِينٍ﴾

3. "Indeed Allāh conferred a great favour on the believers when He sent among them a Messenger (Muḥammad) from among themselves, reciting unto them His Verses (the Qur'ān), and purifying them (from sins by their following him), and instructing them (in) the Book (the Qur'ān) and *al-ḥikmah* (the *Sunnah* of the Prophet i.e. his legal ways, statements, acts of worship), while before that they had been in manifest error." (Q. 3:164)

If we look closely at the text of the second verse, which is most relevant to the point in question, we find that the verse has not permitted the believers to exercise their personal thinking except after understanding the meaning of the Qur'ān. The task of explaining such meanings was entrusted to the Prophet himself; he was naturally the most knowledgeable of people regarding its content and language. Therefore, the Companions did not venture to interpret the Qur'ān by

themselves when something was unclear to them, referring the matter instead to the Prophet. There are numerous examples of this, such as:

a) On hearing the verse

﴿الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَلَمْ يَلْبِسُوا إِيمَانَهُم بِظُلْمٍ أُولَٰئِكَ لَهُمُ الْأَمْنُ وَهُم مُّهْتَدُونَ﴾

"It is those who believe (in the Oneness of Allāh and worship none but Him Alone) and taint not their faith with *ẓulm*. For them (only) there is security and they are the guided," (Q. 6:82)

the Companions took the word *ẓulm* to refer to wrong-doing in general which includes every wrong, however minor. This created great difficulty for them, and they therefore asked the Prophet, "Which of us has not tainted his faith by committing some wrong?" He replied, "(The wrong which is referred to here) is not what you have in mind. Have not you heard what Luqmān said to his son:

﴿... يَا بُنَيَّ لَا تُشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ إِنَّ الشِّرْكَ لَظُلْمٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

'... O my son! Join not in worship others with Allāh. Verily joining others in worship with Allāh is a great wrong (*ẓulm*) indeed.' (Q. 31:13)"[1]

b) When the Companions heard the verse

﴿... وَكُلُوا وَاشْرَبُوا حَتَّىٰ يَتَبَيَّنَ لَكُمُ الْخَيْطُ الْأَبْيَضُ مِنَ الْخَيْطِ الْأَسْوَدِ ...﴾

"... And eat and drink, until the white thread appears to you distinct from the black thread ... ," (Q. 2:187)

some of them took the terms 'the white thread' and 'the black thread' literally. As such, some people, when they wanted to fast, bound two strings about their feet, one white and one black and continued to eat until they could distinguish between them.

'Adī Ibn Ḥātim used to place two threads under his pillow, one white and one black, by which he could tell the coming of *fajr* time. When he told the Prophet about this, the Prophet explained to him that the terms 'black thread' and 'white thread' refer to the brightness of day being distinct from the darkness of night.[2]

The '*tabyīn*' (explanation) mentioned in the verse: "that you may explain clearly to men" ﴿*li-tubayyina li-l-nās*﴾, includes two types of elucidation. The first clarifies how one recites the Qur'ān and conveys its message to other people, and this is what is meant by the verse: "O Apostle, proclaim (the message) which has been sent down to you from your Lord." (Q. 5:67)[3] and the verse: "Recite (O Muḥammad) what has been revealed to you of the Book (the Qur'ān)." (Q. 29:45)[4] The second sense is that of the explanation of the technical meaning of a word, sentence or verse which may need to be elucidated for people. This most often pertains to the verses which have a general meaning, in which case the Prophet's explanation clarifies the specific, particularizes the general, qualifies the absolute and amplifies what is concise. This kind of explanation embraces the terms '*Ḥadīth*' and '*Sunnah*', with reference to the Prophet's words, and '*tabyīn*' or '*bayān*' in Qur'anic terminology.

---

[1] Bukhārī, k. *al-Tafsīr*, s. no. 2, bā. no. 28, ḥ. no. 4509, 4510-1, k. *al-Ṣawm*, bā. no. 16, ḥ. no. 1916-7; Muslim, k. *al-Ṣiyām*, ḥ. no. 33-35; Dāwud, k. *al-Ṣawm*, bā.. no. 17, ḥ. no. 2349; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Ṣiyām*, bā. no. 29, ḥ. no. 2169, Tirmidhī, k. *al-Tafsīr*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 2970-1.

[2] Bukhārī, k. *al-Īmān*, bā. no. 23, ḥ. no. 32, k. *al-Anbiyā'*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 3360, bā. no. 41, ḥ. no. 3428-9, k. *al-Tafsīr*, s. no. 6, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 4629, s. no. 31, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 4776, and other places; Muslim, k. *al-Īmān*, 197-8; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Tafsīr*, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 3067; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 3589,4031 & 4240.

[3] ﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَآ أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ﴾

[4] ﴿ٱتْلُ مَآ أُوحِىَ إِلَيْكَ مِنَ ٱلْكِتَٰبِ﴾

In ***Qurṭubī's Tafsīr***, he states: "'that you may explain clearly to men what is sent down to them,' the Prophet explains on behalf of Allāh the rulings of *ṣalāh* and *zakāh*, which He generalised in His Book, and other matters which were not mentioned in detail."[5] In ***al-Khāzin's Tafsīr***, it is stated: "'that you may explain clearly to men what is sent down to them', refers to the rulings of the Qur'ān that are general. The explanation of the Qur'ān is to be sought in the *Sunnah* and the one who explains that which is general is the Prophet himself."[6]

Muslim scholars have stressed that the *Sunnah* of the Prophet is very important in its explanation of the meanings of the Qur'ān and its rulings. Those scholars include, among others: al-Shāfi'ī;[7] al-Shāṭibī;[8] Ibn Ḥazm[9] and al-Marwazī.[10]

Let us now scrutinize these statements, with specific reference to the aspect of worship, and in particular the verses relating to *ṣalāh* which constitutes, for Muslims, one of the most important pillars of their religion. First of all, we find that the word

---

[5] Qurṭubī, vol. 10, p. 109.
[6] Vol. 4, p. 76.
[7] Shāfi'ī *R*, p. 22: "*Bayān* includes what Allāh ordained in His Book and explained in the Prophet's words such as the number of prayers to be performed, the *zakāh* and its frequency and other ordinances contained in His Book."
[8] Shāṭibī, vol. 4, p. 11: "*Sunnah* as has been shown, details the general statements in the Qur'ān, qualifies the absolute and particularizes what is general and thus it gives Qur'anic phrasings meanings different from their apparent meaning in the language. Thus you should know that the *bayān* of the *Sunnah* refers to what Allāh intends from such expressions."
[9] Ibn Ḥazm, vol. 1, p. 121: "It is true that the Prophet was commanded to explain the Qur'ān clearly to men. The Qur'ān contains many general statements such as those regarding prayer, *zakāh* and *ḥajj* etc., from which we can not tell what Allāh has ordained for us from the words used."
[10] Al-Sunnah, p. 31: "I have found that the fundamentals of all compulsory duties can not be interpreted or acted upon except through the explanation provided by the Prophet such as in the case of *ṣalāh*, *zakāh*, fasting, *ḥajj* and *jihād*."

'*al-ṣalāh*' alone occurs sixty-seven times in the Qur'ān,[11] and in total the verses which have to do with the topic of prayer number about one hundred. If we look at the subject matter of these verses, we find that generally speaking they deal with the following:

i) The ordination of *ṣalāh* for the believers;

ii) the commendation of those who perform *ṣalāh*;

iii) the reward for the performance of *ṣalāh*;

iv) giving warning against not performing *ṣalāh* regularly, and the consequences of not doing so;

v) reporting the attitude of previous peoples toward *ṣalāh*, whether negative or positive;

vi) the manner of performing *ṣalāt al-khawf* (i.e., *ṣalāh* performed when in face of danger in times of war);

vii) a description of the *ṣalāh* of hypocrites.

vii) In addition, we find the command for believers to;

- perform *ṣalāh* punctually;
- have humility in *ṣalāh*;
- seek Allāh's help through *ṣalāh*;
- carry out physical purification in order to perform *ṣalāh*, etc.

If we look solely at the verses which talk about the ordination of *ṣalāh* for the believers, we find that sixteen verses (Q. 2:43; 2:83; 2:110; 2:238; 4:103; 6:72; 11:114; 14:31; 17:78; 22:78; 24:56; 29:45; 30:31; 33:33; 58:13; 62:9 and 73:20) contain what is in the main simply a general command for the believers to perform *ṣalāh*, with no specific instructions on how this should be done, or indeed on the number of *ṣalāh*s to be performed, the name of each *ṣalāh*, the specific times of

---

[11] See *Alfāẓ*, entry: (ص ل و).

ṣalāh, the duration of each *ṣalāh*, the supplications to be uttered in *ṣalāh*, what makes *ṣalāh* valid, what invalidates it, and what a person should do to correct a mistake in *ṣalāh*, or to make up an act of *ṣalāh* which was forgotten. These questions, and many others besides, one might legitimately ask, but answers can not be found in the Qur'ān. However, they can be readily found in the sayings of the Prophet, his Companions and the Successors, which are recorded in *Ḥadīth* collections.

Every *Ḥadīth* collection contains tens, and some contain hundreds of *ḥadīths* which relate to the matter of *ṣalāh* in one way or another, and it is inappropriate to cite all of the *ḥadīths* that relate to the question of *ṣalāh*. However, by mentioning a few, in particular those where the times of the five *ṣalāhs* are specified, which are reported in various collections, we can clarify the role and necessity of such *ḥadīths* in explaining Qur'anic verses. Indeed, both *ḥadīths* that have a chain of narrators beginning with the Prophet and those that can be traced back instead to a Companion or a Successor of the Prophet serve this purpose.

❄ Mālik cites twelve reports in the Book of *ṣalāh*, in the 'Chapter on Times of *ṣalāh*.'[12]

❄ Al-Shāfiʿī cites in his ***Musnad*** eleven reports in the 'Chapter on Facing the *qiblah* in *ṣalāh*,' *ḥadīths* no. 22-27 and 29-33.[13]

---

[12] Mālik, vol. 1, pp. 3-9.

[13] *Al-Musnad*, pp. 26-29. The same *ḥadīths* are also cited in his book ***al-Umm***, in the chapter *Times of ṣalāh*, vol. 1, pp. 149-156.

❄ In Al-Shaybānī's *Athār* there are seven reports. In the 'Chapter on the Times of *ṣalāh*' we find reports no. 65-67,[14] dealing with this matter, and also related reports in the 'Chapter on *ṣalāhs* that can be repeated and those which should not be repeated,' namely reports no. 145, 148, 152 and154.[15]

❄ In Abū Yūsuf's *Athār*, he cites eight reports, no. 90-92, 94-96, 98[16] and 257.[17]

The above mentioned reports are either *ḥadīths* which have a chain of narrators beginning with the Prophet, or that can be traced back instead to a Companion or a Successor of the Companions. All of them have to do with explaining the beginning and end of the times of the five obligatory *ṣalāh*.

Thus we can conclude that various Qur'anic verses required *ḥadīths* to explain them from their time of revelation, and the Companions of necessity preserved them. This was because they were necessary in order for them to know how to perform their *ṣalāh* five times a day in its specifics as it was made compulsory for them from an early stage, and it is inconceivable that they performed their *ṣalāh* without first being aware of the right manner of doing so. In fact, they performed their *ṣalāh* in the manner of the Prophet, having learnt the entire format from him, to the extent that they have been described in the Qur'ān in the following words:

---

[14] Ḥasan *A*, p. 13.
[15] Ibid., pp. 29-31.
[16] *Āthār*, pp. 19-20.
[17] Ibid., p. 50.

﴿مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِينَ مَعَهُ أَشِدَّاءُ عَلَى الْكُفَّارِ رُحَمَاءُ بَيْنَهُمْ تَرَاهُمْ رُكَّعًا سُجَّدًا يَبْتَغُونَ فَضْلًا مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرِضْوَانًا سِيمَاهُمْ فِي وُجُوهِهِمْ مِنْ أَثَرِ السُّجُودِ...﴾

"Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allāh; and those who are with him are severe against disbelievers, and merciful among themselves. You see them bowing and falling down prostrate (in prayer), seeking Bounty from Allāh and (His) Good pleasure. The mark of them (i.e. of their Faith) is on their faces (foreheads) from the traces of (their) prostration (during prayers)." (Q. 48:29)

A similar situation prevailed regarding the verses that deal with other compulsory acts of worship, such as those concerning *ṣiyām*, *zakāh* and *ḥajj* etc. The same also applies to verses relating to doctrine and business transactions as well as to the question of penalties.

SECTION 2

THE QUR'ĀN AND THE TERM 'THE *SUNNAH* OF THE PROPHET'

The term *Sunnah* is not mentioned specifically in the Qur'ān, but is referred to undirectly in a number of places using terms such as '*tabyīn*,' '*al-rasūl*,' '*ma'rūf*,' and '*ḥikmah*'.

1. The term '*tabyīn*' or '*bayān*'

﴿...وَأَنزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الذِّكْرَ لِتُبَيِّنَ لِلنَّاسِ مَا نُزِّلَ إِلَيْهِمْ وَلَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ﴾

"... And we have also sent down unto you (O Muḥammad) the Qur'ān (*al-Dhikr*) that you may explain clearly to men (*li-tubayyina li-l-nās*) what is sent down to them, and that they may give thought." (Q. 16:44)

If we read closely the text of this verse, we find that the verse has not permitted the believers to reflect on a personal basis, except after having first understood the meanings of the Qur'ān. The task of understanding and explaining such meanings was entrusted to the Prophet himself, and he was naturally the most knowledgeable of people regarding its content and language. The explanation (*tabyīn*) mentioned in the verse: "...that you may explain clearly to men" ﴿*li-tubayyina li-l-nās*﴾, as stated in the previous section, includes two types of explanation. The first is an explanation of how to recite the Qur'ān and convey its message to other people. The second is concerned with the explanation of the technical meaning of a word, sentence or verse that may need clarification. This is most often the case with verses which have a general meaning. Where this is the case, as was stated previously, the Prophet's explanation clarifies the specific, particularizes the general, qualifies the

absolute and amplifies what is concise, embracing what is termed '*Ḥadīth*' and '*Sunnah*' in the Prophet's words and '*tabyīn*' or '*bayān*' in the Qur'anic terminology. In the previous section, we examined the opinions of a variety of Muslim scholars on what is meant by '*tabyīn*' in the verse mentioned above,[18] concluding that this verse contains a tacit command relating to the importance of following the Prophet's *Sunnah* as it pertains to all of the Qur'anic topics about which the Prophet talked and which are in need of some explanation by him.

2. The term '*al-rasūl*' (Apostle)

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ذَٰلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا﴾ .

"O you who believe! Obey Allāh, and obey *al-rasūl* [Muḥammad], and those charged with authority among you. [And] if you differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to Allāh and *al-rasūl*, if you believe in Allāh and the Last Day. That is better, and more suitable for final determination." (Q. 4:59)

What is meant by the above directive to refer matters to Allāh and *al-rasūl* is that Muslims should refer firstly to the Qur'ān, and, secondly, to the Prophet during his lifetime, or to his *Sunnah* after his death. In his ***Tafsīr***, Ibn Kathīr states that Mujāhid (d. 102/720) and a number of the predecessors in their interpretation of, "… refer it to Allāh and *al-rasūl*," state that this means the Book of Allāh and the *Sunnah* of his Apostle.[19] In ***Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*** it is taken to mean that the matter should be referred to the Book of Allāh, the Apostle in his lifetime and his *Sunnah* afterwards.[20]

[18] See page 36.
[19] Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, p. 519.
[20] Ṣuyūṭī *TJ*, vol. 1, p. 111.

3. The term '*ma'rūf*'

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِذَا جَاءَكَ الْمُؤْمِنَاتُ يُبَايِعْنَكَ عَلَىٰ أَن لَّا يُشْرِكْنَ بِاللَّهِ شَيْئًا وَلَا يَسْرِقْنَ وَلَا يَزْنِينَ وَلَا يَقْتُلْنَ أَوْلَادَهُنَّ وَلَا يَأْتِينَ بِبُهْتَانٍ
يَفْتَرِينَهُ بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِنَّ وَأَرْجُلِهِنَّ وَلَا يَعْصِينَكَ فِي مَعْرُوفٍ فَبَايِعْهُنَّ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُنَّ اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ﴾

"O Prophet! When believing women come to you to give you the pledge (*bay'ah*) that they will not associate anything in worship with Allāh, that they will not steal, that they will not commit adultery, that they will not kill their children, that they will not utter slander, intentionally forging falsehood (i.e. by attributing illegitimate children to their husbands), and that they will not disobey you in any *ma'rūf*, then accept their *bay'ah*, and ask Allāh to forgive them. Verily Allāh is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." (Q. 60:12)

In interpretation of "... that they will not disobey you in any *ma'rūf*," Ibn Kathīr says that it refers to whatever good action (*ma'rūf*) the Prophet enjoined them to do and whatever evil he forbade them from committing.[21] One of the women who took the oath of allegiance to the Prophet said, "One of the oaths which the Apostle of Allāh received from us about the *ma'rūf* was that we would not disobey him in it (*ma'rūf*): that we would not scratch our faces; nor wail; nor tear the front of our garments; nor dishevel our hair."[22] Salmah bt. 'Umays, one of the Prophet's aunts, said, "... I came to the Prophet in the company of some Anṣārī women and gave the oath of allegiance to him. When he laid down some conditions on us ... that we should not disobey him in any *ma'rūf*, he said, 'You should not deceive your husbands.' We gave him our oath on that and then departed. I said to one of the women, 'Go back to the Apostle of Allāh and ask him what 'deceiving our husbands' means?' He said, 'That she takes his money and gives it for the benefit of someone

---

[21] Ibn Kathīr, s. no. 60, v. no. 12.
[22] Dāwud, k. *al-Janā'iz*, bā. no. 29, ḥ. no. 1331.

else.'"[23] Also, 'Ā'ishah said, "Allāh's Apostle used to examine the believing women who migrated to him in accordance with this verse: 'O Prophet! When believing women come to you to give *bay'ah* ... .' And if any of the believing women accepted the conditions [specified in the above-mentioned verse], Allāh's Apostle would say to her, 'I have accepted your pledge of allegiance.' ..."[24] It seems that the Prophet used to see that this oath of allegiance was carried out. Ibn 'Abbās said, "I witnessed *'Īd al-fiṭr* prayer with Allāh's Apostle, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, and all of them offered it before delivering the sermon. Once the Prophet [after completing the prayer and the sermon] came down, and it is as if I am now looking at him waving at the men with his hand to sit down, and walked through them until he, along with Bilāl, reached the women. Then he recited, 'O Prophet! When believing women come to you to give the *bay'ah* ... .' Having finished, he said, 'Do you still remain on that?' One lady, and she was the only one who replied to the Prophet, said, 'Yes, O Allāh's Apostle.'"[25] In the same fashion, the Prophet took the oath of allegiance from men as well, that they should not disobey him in any *ma'rūf*, as he did with the women. 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit said, "While we were with the Prophet, he said, 'Will you pledge allegiance to me that you will not worship anything besides Allāh, will not commit illegal sexual intercourse and will not steal?' Then he recited the verse concerning women."[26]

---

[23] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 26592.
[24] Bukhārī, k. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, s. no. 60, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 4891.
[25] Ibid., ḥ. no. 4895.
[26] Ibid., ḥ. no. 4894.

Thus we can say that the expression, "they will not disobey you in any *ma'rūf*," is a directive that they should not disobey the Prophet in any *sunnah*, whether a command or prohibition. On this basis we can say that the Qur'ān indicates that the believers are obliged to act according to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.

4. The term '*ḥikmah*'

﴿كما أرسلنا فيكم رسولا منكم يتلوا عليكم آياتنا ويزكيكم ويعلمكم الكتاب والحكمة ويعلمكم ما لم تكونوا تعلمون﴾

"Similarly (to complete My Blessings on you) We have sent among you an Apostle (Muḥammad) of your own, reciting to you Our Verses (the Qur'ān), and purifying you, and teaching you the Book [the Qur'ān] and *al-ḥikmah* and teaching you that which you used not to know." (Q. 2:151)

﴿لقد من الله على المؤمنين إذ بعث فيهم رسولا من أنفسهم يتلوا عليهم آياته ويزكيهم ويعلمهم الكتاب والحكمة وإن كانوا من قبل لفي ضلال مبين﴾

"Indeed Allāh conferred a great favour on the believers when He sent among them an Apostle (Muḥammad) from among themselves, reciting unto them His Verses (the Qur'ān), and purifying them, and teaching them the Book (the Qur'ān) and *al-ḥikmah*, while before that they had been in manifest error." (Q. 3:164)

﴿هو الذي بعث في الأميين رسولا منهم يتلو عليهم آياته ويزكيهم ويعلمهم الكتاب والحكمة وإن كانوا من قبل لفي ضلال مبين﴾

"He it is Who sent among the Unlettered ones an Apostle (Muḥammad) from among themselves, reciting to them His Verses, purifying them, and teaching them the Book (the Qur'ān) and *al-ḥikmah*. And verily, they had been before in manifest error." Q. 62:2)

The previous verses indicate a variety of the Prophet's tasks among which are the following:

A. Recitation of the verses;

B. teaching the Book (the Qur'ān);

C. teaching *al-ḥikmah.* Ibn Kathīr said, "*Ḥikmah* means *sunnah,* as is related by al-Ḥasan [d. 110/728], Qatādah [d. 117/735], Muqātil b. Ḥayyān [d. before 150/767] and Abū Mālik";[27]

D. and purifying them. Ibn Kathīr said that, "This refers to the Prophet's enjoining good on them and forbidding them evil so that their souls would be purified from the evil of the pre-Islamic era."[28]

It is clear, therefore, the Prophet performed other functions besides reciting to them and teaching them what is contained in the Qur'ān, which is itself *al-ḥikmah,* including their purification and instruction in what they were previously unaware of. The acquisition of the previous four elements can only be attained through the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.

Thus we can readily appreciate the importance of following the Prophet, and therefore his *Sunnah* which, as we have seen, is evident from the previous verses.

---

[27] Ibn Kathīr, vol. 1, p. 185.
[28] Ibid., p. 425.

SECTION 3

THE QUR'ĀN'S COMMAND TO FOLLOW THE *SUNNAH* OF THE PROPHET BY OBEYING HIM

When we examine the verses of the Qur'ān that are related to obedience to the Prophet, we find that a considerable number of them clearly indicate this to be obligatory. The obedience rendered to the Prophet by his Companions, and required of those who come after them entails that his commands, prohibitions and instructions should be accepted, whether they are found in the Qur'ān or are *Sunnah.* Many of the Qur'anic verses indicate the role of the Qur'ān in urging the Companions to obey the Prophet, and indeed, made it incumbent on them to accept all of his commands, prohibitions and instructions. In fact, there are many verses that contain the plain order that the Muslims should obey the Prophet. The following examples manifest this:

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنكُمْ...﴾

1. "O you who believe! Obey Allāh and obey the Apostle (Muḥammad), and those charged with authority among you ... ." (Q. 4:59)

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَلَا تَوَلَّوْا عَنْهُ وَأَنتُمْ تَسْمَعُونَ﴾

2. "O you who believe! Obey Allāh and His Apostle (Muḥammad), and turn not away from him (i.e. Muḥammad) while you are hearing." (Q. 8:20)

﴿قُلْ أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ فَإِن تَوَلَّوْا فَإِنَّمَا عَلَيْهِ مَا حُمِّلَ وَعَلَيْكُم مَّا حُمِّلْتُمْ وَإِن تُطِيعُوهُ تَهْتَدُوا وَمَا عَلَى الرَّسُولِ إِلَّا الْبَلَاغُ الْمُبِينُ﴾

3. "Say (O Muḥammad): 'Obey Allāh, and obey the Apostle (Muḥammad), but if you turn away, he (the Apostle Muḥammad) is only responsible for the duty placed on him (i.e. to convey Allāh's Message) and you for that placed on you. If

you obey him, you shall be on the right guidance. The Apostle's duty is only to convey (the message) in a clear way (i.e. to preach in a plain way)." (Q. 24:54).

For further examples see also: Q. 3:32; 3:132; 5:92; 8:1; 8:24; 8:46; 24:56; 33:33; 47:33; 58:13; 64:12 and 64:16.

SECTION 4

THE QUR'ANIC APPROACHES TO INDICATING THE NECESSITY OF (E.G. *TARGHĪB AND TARHĪB*) FOLLOWING OF THE *SUNNAH*

The Qur'ān uses language which awakens desire (*targhīb*), and also fear (*tarhīb*), in order that all the Prophet's commands and the prohibitions are accepted.

A. The method of awakening desire (*targhīb*) for following the *Sunnah*

The Qur'ān clearly illustrates that obedience to Allāh and His Apostle leads to an enormous reward and benefit. We find several verses that clearly indicate that obedience to Allāh and His Apostle will result in good news. There is no doubt that this encouraged the Companions to accept everything, whether large or small, that came from the Prophet. The following verses indicate that whoever obeys Allāh and His Apostle;

1. "...will be admitted to Gardens under which rivers flow (in paradise), to abide therein, and that will be the great success." (Q. 4:13)

2. "... will be in the company of those on whom Allāh has bestowed His Grace... And how excellent these companions are!" (Q. 4:69)

3. "... has indeed obeyed Allāh... " (Q. 4:80)

4. "... will be successful." (Q. 7:157)

5. "... Allāh will have His mercy on them." (Q. 9:71)

6. "... are the successful." (Q. 24:52)

7. "... shall be on the right guidance." (Q. 24:54)

8. "... has indeed achieved a great achievement (i.e. he will be saved from the Hell-fire and will be admitted to Paradise)." (Q. 33:71)

9. "...(Allāh) will admit him to Gardens beneath which rivers flow (Paradise)..."(Q. 48:17)

10. "... (Allāh) will not decrease anything in reward for your deeds." (Q. 49:14)

B. The method of inducing fear (*tarhīb*) for the following of the *Sunnah*

There are many verses in the Qur'ān which talk about the grievous end that met previous nations who disobeyed their Apostles. Jules La Beaume in his book ***Le Koran Analysé***, mentions hundreds of verses which relate to this matter, particularly in Parts Three and Five of his book.[29] Together they constitute a clear indication to the Companions and to those who come after them that they should obey the Prophet and abide by all the instructions contained within the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*, so as to avoid the destruction met by previous nations. Due to the fact that these verses are not related to the Prophet Muḥammad himself, I will not detail them here despite their effective contribution in forging the Companions into a community that obeyed the Prophet. I will, however, mention the following verses that state the bitter end that the Companions were warned would befall them in case of their disobedience to the Prophet.

B1. The threat of the negation of their faith

﴿فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّىٰ يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِّمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا﴾

"But no, by your Lord, they can have no (real) Faith, until they make you (O Muḥammad) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no

[29] This refers to the Arabic translation of his book, ***Tafṣīl ayāt al-Qur'ān al-ḥakīm***, tr. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1954. The original was published in Paris in 1878.

resistance against your decisions, and accept (them) with full submission." (Q. 4:65)

B2. The threat of their abiding in Hell fire forever and the humiliating torment therein

﴿وَمَن يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَيَتَعَدَّ حُدُودَهُ يُدْخِلْهُ نَارًا خَالِدًا فِيهَا وَلَهُ عَذَابٌ مُّهِينٌ﴾

"And whosoever disobeys Allāh and His Apostle (Muḥammad) and transgresses His limits, He will be cast him into the Fire, to abide therein; And he shall have a disgraceful torment." (Q. 4:14)

﴿... وَمَن يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَإِنَّ لَهُ نَارَ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أَبَدًا﴾

"... And whosoever disobeys Allāh and His Apostle, then verily, for him is the fire of Hell, he shall dwell therein forever." (Q. 72:23)

B3. The threat of their going astray

﴿... وَمَن يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ ضَلَالًا مُّبِينًا﴾

"... And whosoever disobeys Allāh and His Apostle, he has indeed strayed into a plain error." (Q. 33:36)

B4. The threat of *fitnah* and painful torment

﴿لَّا تَجْعَلُوا دُعَاءَ الرَّسُولِ بَيْنَكُمْ كَدُعَاءِ بَعْضِكُم بَعْضًا قَدْ يَعْلَمُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ يَتَسَلَّلُونَ مِنكُمْ لِوَاذًا فَلْيَحْذَرِ الَّذِينَ يُخَالِفُونَ عَنْ أَمْرِهِ أَن تُصِيبَهُمْ فِتْنَةٌ أَوْ يُصِيبَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ﴾

"Make not the calling of the Apostle (Muḥammad) among you as your calling one of another. Allāh knows those of you who slip away under shelter (of some excuse without taking the permission to leave, from the Apostle). And let those who oppose the Apostle's (Muḥammad) commandment (among the sects) beware, lest some *fitnah* (disbelief, trials, afflictions, earthquakes, killing, overpowered by a tyrant) should befall them or a painful torment be inflicted on them." (Q 24:63)

SECTION 5

THE QUR'ĀN'S COMMANDING TO ABIDE BY WHAT THE PROPHET HAS BROUGHT, ABSTAIN FROM WHAT HE HAS FORBIDDEN, AND TO ACCEPT HIS JUDGEMENT

The Qur'ān urges the believers to abide by the Prophet's orders and abstain from what he has forbidden, as for example in this verse:

﴿وَمَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ﴾

"And whatsoever the Apostle (Muḥammad) gives you, take it; and whatsoever he forbids you, abstain (from it). And fear Allāh; verily, Allāh is Severe in punishment." (Q. 59:7).

Despite this verse being revealed in the context of the distribution of booty (*al-fay'*), there is strong evidence to show that it covers the Prophet's commands and prohibitions in general. The following evidence clarifies this: Sa'īd b. Jubayr narrates that, "Both Ibn 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās testified that the Prophet forbade: *al-dubbā'*, *al-ḥantam*, *al-muzaffat* and *al-naqīr*; [names for types of pots in which alcoholic drinks were prepared.][30] Then the Prophet recited: 'And whatsoever the Apostle gives you, take it, and whatsoever he forbids you, abstain (from it).'"[31]

[30] The Prophet forbade them these because the *nabīdh* that is prepared using these utensils is fermented quickly and rapidly becomes liquor. The Prophet, therefore, did not approve of this practice. *Nabīdh*: is water in which dates and grapes are soaked, which can easily become fermented and therefore become unlawful to drink.

[31] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 3290; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Ashribah*, bā. no. 36, ḥ. no. 5643. See also Muslim, k. *al-Ashribah*, ḥ. no. 1997.

The Companions themselves understood from the previous verse that they should accept and abide by the Prophet's orders and prohibitions in the same way as they did for Allāh's commands. The following examples manifest this:

A. Asmā' bt. Yazīd narrated from one of her cousins, Anas, who narrated that Ibn 'Abbās said, "Has not Almighty Allāh said, 'And whatsoever the Apostle gives you, take it, and whatsoever he forbids you, abstain (from it)?' I said, 'Yes'. He asked another question, 'Has not Allāh said, 'It is not for a Believer, man or woman, when a matter has been decided by Allāh and His Apostle, to have any option in their decision?' I said, 'Yes.' He then said, 'I testify that the Prophet forbade: *al-naqīr*, *al-muqayyar*, *al-dubbā'* and *al-ḥantam*.'"[32]

B. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd said, "Allāh curses those women who practice tattooing and those who get themselves tattooed, and those women who remove the hair from their faces or eyebrows and those who make artificial spaces between their teeth in order to look more beautiful whereby they change Allāh's creation." His saying reached a woman from Banū Asad called Umm Ya'qūb who came (to 'Abd Allāh) and said, "I have come to know that you have cursed such-and-such (women.)" He replied, "Why should I not curse those whom Allāh's Apostle has cursed and who are (cursed) in Allāh's Book!" Umm Ya'qūb said, "I have read the whole Qur'ān, but I did not find in it what you say." He said, "Verily, if you have read it, you would have found it. Did you not read: 'And whatsoever the Apostle gives you, take it. And whatsoever he forbids you, abstain (from it).'" She replied, "Yes, I did." He said, "Verily, Allāh's Apostle forbade such things." She said, "But I see your wife doing

[32] Nasā'ī, k. *al-Ashribah*, bā. no. 36, ḥ. no. 5644.

these things." He said, "Go and watch her." She went and watched her but did not see anything in support of her statement. On that he said, "If my wife was as you thought, I would not keep her in my company."[33]

Elsewhere the Prophet is described in the Qur'ān as a good example for the believers whose hope lies in 'the meeting with Allāh and the Last Day.' In the Qur'ān we find:

﴿لَّقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ لِّمَن كَانَ يَرْجُو اللَّهَ وَالْيَوْمَ الْآخِرَ وَذَكَرَ اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا﴾

"Indeed in the Apostle of Allāh (Muḥammad) you have a good example to follow for him who hopes for (the meeting with) Allāh and the Last Day, and engages much in the Praise of Allāh." (Q. 33:21)

It is incumbent upon Muslims not only to act in accordance with the Prophet's commands and prohibitions, but also to accept his judgements. Muslims are expected to hear and obey whenever they are invited to the judgement of Allāh and His Apostle:

﴿إِنَّمَا كَانَ قَوْلَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذَا دُعُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ لِيَحْكُمَ بَيْنَهُمْ أَن يَقُولُوا سَمِعْنَا وَأَطَعْنَا وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ﴾

"The only saying of the faithful believers, when they are called to Allāh (His Words, the Qur'ān) and His Apostle (Mḥammad), to judge between them, is that they say, 'We hear and we obey.' And such are the successful." (Q. 24:51).

Moreover, the Qur'ān states that they are not true believers unless they make the Prophet their judge and then unequivocally accept his judgement:

---

[33] Bukhārī, k. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, s. no. 59, bā. no. 4, ḥ. no. 4886; Muslim, k. *al-Libās wa al-Zīnah*, ḥ. no. 2125; Dāwud, k. *al-Tarajjul*, bā. no. 5, ḥ. no. 4169; Mājah, k. *al-Nikāḥ*, bā. no. 52, ḥ. no. 1989; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 3935; Dārimī, k. *al-Isti'dhān*, bā. no. 19, ḥ. no. 2647.

﴿فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّىٰ يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِّمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا﴾

"But no, by your Lord, they can have no Faith, until they make you (O Muḥammad) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no resistance against your decisions, and accept (them) with full submission." (Q. 4:65).

They are further ordered to have recourse to Allāh and His Apostle in their disputes [i.e. for judgement on the issue in question]:

﴿فَإِن تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِن كُنتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ذَٰلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا﴾

"(And) If you differ in anything amongst yourselves, refer it to Allāh and His Apostle (Muḥammad), if you believe in Allāh and the Last Day. That is better, and more suitable for final determination." (Q. 4:59).

Above all, the Qur'ān plainly states that no one has the right to choose whether to accept or reject the Prophet's judgement:

﴿وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ وَلَا مُؤْمِنَةٍ إِذَا قَضَى اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَمْرًا أَن يَكُونَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ وَمَن يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ ضَلَالًا مُّبِينًا﴾

"It is not for a believer, man or woman, when Allāh and His Apostle (Muḥammad) have decreed a matter that they should have any option in their decision, and whoever disobeys Allāh and His Apostle, he has indeed strayed into a plain error." (Q. 33:36)

SECTION 6

A REVIEW OF EVENTS DESCRIBED IN THE QUR'ĀN WHICH DEMONSTRATE THAT OBEDIENCE TO THE *SUNNAH* OF THE PROPHET IS REQUIRED OF MUSLIMS, WHICH INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING OF HIS COMMANDS, PROHIBITIONS, JUDGEMENTS, DECISIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS

Three examples are given below:

1. The punishment described in the Qur'ān as being inflicted on the believers who disobey the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (his order)

﴿وَلَقَدْ صَدَقَكُمُ اللَّهُ وَعْدَهُ إِذْ تَحُسُّونَهُم بِإِذْنِهِ حَتَّىٰ إِذَا فَشِلْتُمْ وَتَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ وَعَصَيْتُم مِّن بَعْدِ مَا أَرَاكُم مَّا تُحِبُّونَ مِنكُم مَّن يُرِيدُ الدُّنْيَا وَمِنكُم مَّن يُرِيدُ الْآخِرَةَ ثُمَّ صَرَفَكُمْ عَنْهُمْ لِيَبْتَلِيَكُمْ وَلَقَدْ عَفَا عَنكُمْ وَاللَّهُ ذُو فَضْلٍ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ﴾

"And Allāh did indeed fulfil His promise to you when you were killing them (your enemy) with His Permission; until (the moment) you lost your courage and fell to disputing about the order,[34] and disobeyed after He showed you (of the booty) that which you love. Among you are some that desire this world and some that desire the Hereafter. Then He made you flee from them (your enemy), that He might test you. But surely, He forgave you, and Allāh is most Gracious to the believers." (Q. 3:152)

Al-Barā' b. 'Āzib narrates, regarding the previous verse, "The Prophet appointed 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr as the commander of the infantry men (archers) who were fifty on the day (of the battle) of Uḥud. He instructed them, 'Stick to your place, and do not leave it even if you see birds snatching us, until I send for you; and if you see that we have defeated the infidels and made them flee, even then you

[34] The order was not to leave the position and to strictly maintain discipline. The battle of Uḥud was, to begin with, a victory for the Muslims. Many of the enemy were slain and were retiring, when a party of the Muslims, acting against orders, ran in pursuit, being attracted by the prospect of booty.

should not leave your place until I send for you.' Then the infidels were defeated. By Allāh, I saw the women fleeing lifting up their clothes revealing their leg-bangles and their legs. So, the companions of 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr said, 'The booty! O people, the booty! Your companions have become victorious, what are you waiting for now?' 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr said, 'Have you forgotten what Allāh's Apostle said to you?' They replied, 'By Allāh! We will go to the people (i.e. the enemy) and collect our share from the war booty.' But when they went to them, they were forced to turn back defeated. At that time Allāh's Apostle was at their rear and was calling them back. Only twelve men remained with the Prophet and the infidels martyred seventy men from us... ."[35] In another narration it is stated, "... and (you) fell to disputing about the order, and disobeyed after He showed you (of the booty) that which you love," meaning that they had disobeyed the Prophet after Allāh had shown them the booty and the enemy defeated.[36]

In that punishment there was a very hard lesson for them; seventy Companions were killed after they had been victorious and had witnessed the defeat of the enemy with their own eyes. It was thought to be a disciplinary trial for them so that they would not repeat their disobedience to the command (*amr*) of the Prophet.

2. The objection stated in the Qur'ān to those who reject the judgement or decision of the Prophet in a matter

[35] Bukhārī, k. *al-Jihād wa al-Siyar*, bā. no. 164, ḥ. no. 3039; k. *al-Maghāzī*, bā. no. 17, ḥ. no. 4043; Dāwud, k. *al-Jihād*, bā. no. 116, ḥ. no. 2662; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 18120.

[36] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 18126.

A. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr narrated that, "An Anṣārī man quarreled with al-Zubayr about a water-channels from the Ḥarrah which was used for irrigating date-palms. Allāh's Apostle, ordering Zubayr to be moderate, said, 'O Zubayr! Irrigate [your land] first and then leave the water for your neighbor.' The Anṣārī said, 'Is it because he is your aunt's son?' On that the color of the face of Allāh's Apostle changed and he said, 'O Zubayr! Irrigate [your land] and withhold the water until it reaches the walls that are between the pits around the trees.'[37] So, Allāh's Apostle gave Zubayr his full right. Zubayr said, 'By Allāh, the following verse was revealed in that connection:

﴿ فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّىٰ يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِّمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا ﴾

'But no, by your Lord, they can have no Faith, until they make you (O Muḥammad) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no resistance against your decisions, but accept (them) with full submission.' (Q. 4:65)"[38]

It is clear that this verse warns that the faith of the believers is negated if they do not accept the judgement of the Prophet. Indeed, they have to accept his judgement, even if they deem it harsh. This is what is stipulated for them in the Qur'ān, as was mentioned previously: "The only saying of the faithful believers, when they are called to Allāh (His Words, the Qur'ān) and His Apostle (Muḥammad), to judge between them, is that they say, 'We hear and we obey.' … ."

---

[37] Bukhārī, k. *al-Musāqāh*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 2362.

[38] Ibid., ḥ. no. 2362, bā. no. 6, ḥ. no. 2360, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 2361; k. *al-Ṣulḥ*, bā. no. 12, ḥ. no. 2708; k. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, s. no. 4, bā. no. 12, ḥ. no. 4585; Muslim, k. *al-Faḍā'il*, ḥ. no. 2357; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Aḥkām*, bā. no. 26, ḥ. no. 1363; k. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, bā. no. 5, ḥ. no. 3027; Nasā'ī, k. *Adāb al-Quḍāh*, bā. no. 19, ḥ. no. 5407,5416; Dāwud, k. *al-Aqḍiyah*, bā. no. 31, ḥ. no. 3637; Mājah, *al-Muqadimah*, ḥ. no. 15; k. *al-Aḥkām*, bā. no. 20, ḥ. no. 2480; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no.1422,15684.

(Q. 24:51) Since it is clear that those who reject the judgement of the Prophet in a specific situation are in a precarious position, there is no doubt that the situation of those who reject the commands and prohibitions of the Prophet is far more dangerous.

B. Ibn 'Abbās said, "The Prophet proposed that Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh should marry his *mawlā,* Zayd b. Ḥārithah. She felt that she was high above him (in social position), and therefore, she disliked the idea and consequently refused to marry him. For this reason the verse was revealed:

﴿وَمَا كَانَ لِمُؤْمِنٍ وَلَا مُؤْمِنَةٍ إِذَا قَضَى اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَمْرًا أَن يَكُونَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ مِنْ أَمْرِهِمْ ۗ وَمَن يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ ضَلَالًا مُّبِينًا﴾

'It is not for a believer, man or woman, when Allāh and His Apostle (Muḥammad) have decreed a matter that they should have any option in their decision, and whoever disobeys Allāh and His Apostle, he has indeed strayed into a plain error.' (Q. 33:36)."

In another more detailed narration, "She refused, and so did her brother, 'Abd Allāh, because of her highly esteemed lineage in the Quraysh tribe. When that verse was revealed, her brother came to the Prophet and said, 'O Apostle of Allāh, order me to do whatever you like'. The Prophet said, 'Then give her in marriage to Zayd b. Ḥārithah.' Her brother then accepted and gave her in marriage to Zayd."[39]

From the above we can understand that the believers have no right to exercise personal choice in any matter on which Allāh and His Apostle have passed judgement. They are, therefore, demanded to accept and implement all of the

judgements, decisions, commands and prohibitions of the Prophet. Ibn 'Abbās took this verse to be a proof that the believers have to accept the commands and prohibitions of the Prophet, as in the following two examples:

A. Hishām b. Ḥujayr said, "Ṭāwus was praying two *rak'ahs* after the *'aṣr* prayer when Ibn 'Abbās said to him, 'Do not pray these two *rak'ahs*'... He then said, 'It was prohibited that a Muslim should pray after *'aṣr* prayer. I do not know whether you will be punished or rewarded for your prayer (after *'aṣr*) because Allāh says, 'It is not for a believer, man or woman, when Allāh and His Apostle (Muḥammad) have decreed a matter that they should have any option in their decision, and whoever disobeys Allāh and His Apostle, he has indeed strayed into a plain error.'"[40]

B. We have mentioned before that Asmā' bt. Yazīd narrated from one of her cousins, Anas, who narrated that Ibn 'Abbās said, "Has not Almighty Allāh said, 'And whatsoever the Apostle gives you, take it, and whatsoever he forbids you, abstain (from it)?' I said, 'Yes.' He asked another question, 'Has not Allāh said, 'It is not for a believer, man or woman, when Allāh and His Apostle (Muḥammad) have decreed a matter that they should have any option in their decision?' I said, 'Yes.' He then said, 'I testify that the Prophet forbade: *al-naqīr*, *al-muqayyar*, *al-dubbā'* and *al-ḥantam* [names for types of pots in which alcoholic drinks were prepared.]'"[41]

3. The acceptance described in the Qur'ān of the repentance of the three Companions who did not carry out the *Sunnah* (his command)

---

[39] Qurṭubī, vol. 14, p. 186.
[40] Dārimī, *al-Muqadimah*, ḥ. no. 434.
[41] See above, p. 53.

﴿لَقَد تَّابَ اللَّهُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ وَالْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنصَارِ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُ فِي سَاعَةِ الْعُسْرَةِ مِن بَعْدِ مَا كَادَ يَزِيغُ قُلُوبُ فَرِيقٍ مِّنْهُمْ ثُمَّ تَابَ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنَّهُ بِهِمْ رَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ ، وَعَلَى الثَّلَاثَةِ الَّذِينَ خُلِّفُوا حَتَّىٰ إِذَا ضَاقَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ الْأَرْضُ بِمَا رَحُبَتْ وَضَاقَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ أَنفُسُهُمْ وَظَنُّوا أَن لَّا مَلْجَأَ مِنَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا إِلَيْهِ ثُمَّ تَابَ عَلَيْهِمْ لِيَتُوبُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ التَّوَّابُ الرَّحِيمُ ، يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَكُونُوا مَعَ الصَّادِقِينَ﴾

"Allāh has forgiven the Prophet (Muḥammad), the Muhājirīn (Muslim emigrants who left their homes and came to al-Madīnah), and the Anṣār (the Companions of the Prophet from the inhabitants of Madīnah) who followed him (Muḥammad) in the time of distress (Tabūk expedition), after the hearts of a party of them had nearly deviated (from the Right Path), but he accepted their repentance. Certainly, He is unto them full of kindness, Most Merciful. And (He did forgive also) the three [who did not join the Tabūk expedition] whose case was deferred (by the Prophet for Allāh's decision) until for them the earth, vast as it is, was straitened and their ownselves were straitened to them, and they perceived that there is no fleeing from Allāh, (and no refuge) but with Him. Then, He forgave them (accepted their repentance), that they might repent [unto Him.] Verily, Allāh is the One Who accepts repentance, Most Merciful." (Q. 9:117-18)

The Apostle ordered his Companions to prepare for a raid on the Byzantines.[42] He went forward energetically with his preparations and ordered the provision of money and mounts for the expedition. The wealthy men provided mounts, while 'Uthmān b. 'Affān spent an unprecedented sum.[43] When the Apostle's road was clear he determined to set off. There were a number of Muslims who were slow to make up their minds, so that they lagged behind without there being any thought of their having misgivings. They were Ka'b b. Mālik, Murārah b. al-Rabī' and Hilāl b. Umayyah, who were loyal men whose Islam was above suspicion.[44] The above verses were sent down because of their disobedience to the Prophet's command. The meaning of the previous verses becomes quite clear after we hear what one of them, Ka'b b. Mālik, had to say. Ibn Isḥāq narrates it:

---

[42] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 516.
[43] Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 517-8.

"As for my news in this battle of Tabūk, I had never been stronger or wealthier than I was when I remained behind the Prophet in that *ghazwah.* By Allāh, never had I two she-camels before, but I had them at the time of this *ghazwah*.... The Apostle made his preparations and the Muslims likewise, and I would go to get ready with them and return not having done what was necessary, saying to myself, 'I can do that when I want to,' and I continued procrastinating until the men had acted with energy and in the morning they and the Apostle had gone, while I had made no preparation. I thought that I could get ready a day or two later and then join them. Day after day passed and I had done nothing until the raiders had gone far ahead, and still I thought of going and overtaking, and I wish that I had done so, but I did not. ... When I heard that the Apostle was on his way back from Tabūk I got immersed in my concern and began to think of false excuses, saying to myself, 'How can I avoid his anger tomorrow?' And I took the advice of wise member of my family in this matter. When it was said that Allāh's Apostle had come near, all the evil false excuses left my mind and I knew that I could only escape by telling the truth. So I determined to do so. Allāh's Apostle arrived in Madīnah in the morning, and whenever he returned from a journey he used to visit the Mosque first of all and offer a two *rak'ahs* prayer therein and then set down to speak to people... I came and saluted him and he smiled as one who is angry. He told me to come near, and when I sat before him he asked me what had kept me back, and had I not bought my mount. I said, 'O Apostle of Allāh, were I sitting with anyone else in the world I should count on escaping his anger by an excuse, for I am astute in argument. But I know that if I tell you a lie today you will accept it and that Allāh will soon excite your anger against me, and yet if I tell you the truth which will make you angry with me, I have hopes that Allāh will reward me for it in the end. Indeed, I have no excuse. I was never stronger and richer than when I stayed behind.' The Apostle said,

[44] Ibid., p. 519.

'So far as that goes you have told the truth, but get up until Allāh decides about you.' ... Allāh's Apostle forbade anyone to speak to the three of us out of those who had stayed behind, so people avoided us and showed us an altered demeanour, until the very land [where I lived] appeared strange to me and as if I did not know it. We endured this for fifty nights. As regards my two fellows, they remained in their houses, but I was younger and hardier, so I used to go out and witness the prayers along with the Muslims and roam about in the markets, but none would talk to me, and I would come to Allāh's Apostle and salute him while he was sitting in his gathering after the prayer, and I would wonder if his lips had moved in returning the salutation or not. Then I would offer my prayer near to him and look at him stealthily. When I was busy with my prayer, he would turn his face towards me, but when I turned my face to him, he would turn his face away from me. When I had endured much harshness from the Muslims, I walked off and climbed over the wall of Abū Qatādah's orchard. He was my cousin and the dearest of men to me. I saluted him and by Allāh, he did not return my salutation. So I said, 'O Abū Qatādah, I adjure you by Allāh, do you know that I love Allāh and His Apostle?' But he answered me not a word. Again I adjured him and he was silent; again and again I adjured him, then he said, 'Allāh and His Apostle know best.' At that my eyes swam with tears and I jumped up and climbed over the wall... . Thus we went on until forty of the fifty nights had passed, and then the Apostle's messenger came to me and told me that the Apostle had ordered that I should separate myself from my wife. I asked whether this meant that I was to divorce her, and he said that it did not but that I was to separate myself and not approach her. My two Companions received similar orders. I told my wife to rejoin her family until such time as Allāh should give a decision in the matter. The wife of Hilāl came to the Apostle and told him that he was an old man, lost without a servant, and enquired if there was any objection to her serving him. He said there was not, provided that he did not approach

> her. She told the Apostle that he never made a movement towards her and that his weeping was so prolonged that she feared that he would lose his sight… . Ten more nights passed, until fifty nights since the Apostle had forbidden men to speak to us were complete. I prayed the morning prayer on top of one of our houses on the morn of the fiftieth night in the way that Allāh had prescribed [in the Qur'ān]. The earth, vast as it is, was straitened for us and my own self was straitened for me. I had set up a tent on the top of the mountain of *Sal'* and I used to stay there when suddenly I heard the voice of one who had ascended the mountain of *Sal'* shouting with his loudest voice, 'O Ka'b b. Mālik, be happy (*abshir*) [Due to the receiving of good tidings].' I fell down in prostration before Allāh, realizing that relief had come. The Apostle announced the acceptance of our repentance by Allāh when he prayed the *fajr* prayer, and men went off to tell us the good news. They went to my two fellows with the news… . Then I set off towards the Apostle and men met me and told me the good news and congratulated me on Allāh's having forgiven me. I went into the Mosque and there was the Apostle surrounded by people. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubayd Allāh got up and greeted me and congratulated me, but no other Muhājir did … and Allāh sent down [the above verse].[45]

It is clear that the Muslims themselves were the main participants and contributors to the events that constituted this incident. They abided by the Prophet's order not to talk to the three Companions concerned, and indeed even their wives carried out the Prophet's command. All of the inhabitants of Madīnah knew that the reason for the sending of the three Companions 'to Coventry' was their failure to carry out the Prophet's orders, the requirement to do so becoming obligatory on them

[45] Ibid., pp. 531-36. See also *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 26634; Bukhārī, k. *al-Maghāzī*, bā. no. 79, ḥ. no. 4418; Muslim, k. *al-Tawbah*, ḥ. no. 53; Tirmidhī, k. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 3102.

subsequent to their voluntarily entering the community of Muslims. There is no doubt that this incident in particular made it very clear to the Muslims that they should obey the Prophet, which includes his commands, prohibitions and instructions, and therefore his *Sunnah*.

CONCLUSION

A. From the above it should be clear that the Qur'ān contains statements that can be interpreted in various ways, which were subsequently clarified by Prophet, as well as general directives to which he gave practical elucidation. This was part of his role as stipulated in the Qur'ān, and as such they form complementary parts of a total science. The nature of these verses made it incumbent on the Companions that the *Sunnah* be taken to heart, both by them and those who followed them. It is clear, therefore, that the Qur'ān was one of the most important factors in necessitating the existence of *Ḥadīth* texts, and indeed, was such from the moment that it began to be revealed. This in turn requires that they should preserve and take care of it.

B. The verses that are cited above confirm that the commands of Allāh, as well as the commands of the Prophet, are entitled to the same high level of obedience from the Muslims. Indeed, the entire life of the Prophet is instructive to the Muslims, who are expected to emulate it as closely as possible; there should be no hesitation amongst the Muslims in carrying out the commands of the Prophet. In this context, 'obedience' means full and not half-hearted submission.

C. The above-mentioned verses are some of the many Qur'anic verses which confirm the authority of the Prophet and emphasize the fact that his decisions, judgements, prohibitions and general commands have binding authority and ought to be followed in all spheres of life by Muslim individuals and communities as well as by Muslim states.

It is obvious that this authority of the Prophet did not hold sway over the commonality alone, but also extended over legal authorities, scholars and the founders of the schools of law, as is made clear by the Qur'ān.

D. The role of the Qur'ān in affirming the *Sunnah* and its sacred status is clear, and it was very effective in fostering an appreciation of the status of the *Sunnah* in the Companions of the Prophet who acted according to it. It must be remembered that these Companions had an extremely firm conviction that the Qur'ānic revelations came from Allāh, and as such they paid great heed to both the verses that praise the believers and promise them admittance to Paradise, and those that, on the other hand, rebuke the unbelievers and threaten them with admittance to Hell. There are also those that discipline and reprimand and in addition, remind of the punishment that can befall one in this world. The above-mentioned factors were very effective in confirming the importance of the *Sunnah* and preserving it in the hearts of the Companions and those who followed them. They had firm belief in the various Qur'anic verses which represent the essence of Islam, and make it absolutely incumbent on Muslims to act in accordance with the *Sunnah*, and following from this was a strong appreciation of the need for its preservation.

E. All of the activities of the Prophet, are encompassed by the term '*Sunnah*' or '*Sunnah* of the Prophet', which was, is, and will of necessity remain the main Islamic source, second only to the Qur'ān.

The *aḥādīth* of the Prophet are considered to be the main source of information about the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, and as such he found it necessary to ensure their diffusion in the Muslim community. We shall discuss this in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE PROPHET AND THE *SUNNAH*

Study And Analysis Of The Role Of The Prophet In Propagating And Preserving The *Sunnah* (*Ḥadīth*)

Section 1: The Prophet's clarification of the status of his *Sunnah* and his command to act upon it.

Section 2: The Prophet's exhortation and instruction to his Companions to memorize *Ḥadīth*.

Section 3: The Prophet's command that his Companions should convey his *Ḥadīth* to others.

Section 4: The Prophet's permission for the writing down of his *Ḥadīth*:
- ❄ The *ḥadīths* that allow writing.
- ❄ An examination of the transmission of the permitting *ḥadīths*.
- ❄ The *ḥadīths* that prohibit writing.
- ❄ An examination of the transmission of the preventive *ḥadīths*.
- ❄ Conclusion of the examination of both transmissions.
- ❄ An analysis of the texts of the permitting and prohibiting *ḥadīths*.
- ❄ The practical stance of the Companions regarding the writing down of the *ḥadīths*.

Section 5: The Prophet's letters that were written to assist in establishing the *Sunnah* in other regions.

Section 6: The Prophet's dispatching of educational missions for the propagation of his *Sunnah* in other regions.

Section 7: The Prophet's teaching of the incoming delegations and their instruction in the *Sunnah*.

Section 8: The Prophet's teaching of the *Sunnah* to his Companions:
- ❄ His teaching in mosques.
- ❄ His teaching in houses.
- ❄ His teaching in sermon form.
- ❄ His teaching by means of an announcer.
- ❄ The Companions' attitude towards the Prophet's addresses and narrations.
- ❄ His teaching on an individual basis.

Conclusion: Summarizes the main points of the discussion and presents the findings of the study.

THE PROPHET'S CLARIFICATION OF THE STATUS OF HIS *SUNNAH* AND HIS COMMAND TO ACT UPON IT

SECTION 1

THE PROPHET'S CLARIFICATION OF THE STATUS OF HIS *SUNNAH* AND HIS COMMAND TO ACT UPON IT

There are many *ḥadīths* which contain illustrations by the Prophet of the status of his *Sunnah* and his command to the believers that they should adhere to it. This illustration and command came in different forms including the imperative, and as an exhortation, a warning and through the awakening of hope, etc. The presentation of some of these *ḥadīths* will manifest the facts which underlie the Prophet's contribution to and role in the preservation of the *Sunnah*.

Mālik b. Anas in his book *al-Muwaṭṭa'* narrates that the Prophet said, "I have left two matters with you. As long as you hold to them, you will never go astray. They are the Book of Allāh and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet."[1] Similar statement is recorded in Ibn Isḥāq's ***Sīrah***, where Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/768) mentions that the Prophet said in his sermon at the Farewell *ḥajj*, "... I have left with you something which, if you will hold fast to it, you will never go astray, a plain indication- the book of Allāh and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet ... ."[2] Also, al-'Irbāḍ b. Sāriyah said, 'One day the Apostle of Allāh led us in prayer, then faced us and gave us a lengthy exhortation at which eyes shed tears and hearts were afraid. A man said, 'Apostle of Allāh! It seems as if it were a farewell exhortation, so what injunction do you give us?' He then said, 'I enjoin you to fear Allāh, and to hear and obey even if it be an Abyssinian slave (who is your leader), for those of you who live after

---

[1] Mālik, k. *al-Qadar*, ḥ. no. 3.
[2] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 604; *Mustadrak*, vol. 1, pp. 171-2.

me will see great disagreement. You must then follow my *Sunnah* and that of the rightly-guided caliphs. Hold to it and stick fast to it. Avoid novelties, for every novelty is an innovation, and every innovation is an error."[3]

The Prophet made it clear to them that obedience to Allāh and admittance to His Paradise require that the believer should obey him. It has been narrated on the authority of Abū Hurayrah that the Apostle of Allāh said, "All my followers will enter Paradise except those who refuse." They said, "O Allāh's Apostle! Who will refuse?" He said, "Whoever obeys me will enter Paradise. And whoever disobeys me is the one who refuses (to enter it.)"[4] In another narration, he says, "Whosoever obeys me obeys Allāh, and whosoever disobeys me disobeys Allāh. Whosoever obeys my commander obeys me, and whosoever disobeys my commander disobeys me."[5] On another occasion he indicated to them that salvation from Hell can be attained only through obedience to him. Abū Mūsā narrated that the Prophet said, "My example and the example of what I have been sent with is that of a man who came to some people and said, 'O people! I have seen the enemy's army with my own eyes, and I am the naked warner (*al-nadhīr al-'iryān*), so protect yourselves. A group of his people obeyed him and fled at night, proceeding stealthily until they were safe, while another group of them disbelieved him and stayed at their places until morning when the army came upon them, and killed and ruined them completely. This example refers to that

---

[3] Dāwūd, k. *al-Sunnah*, bā. no. 6, ḥ. no. 4607; Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 16, ḥ. no. 2676; Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 6, ḥ. no. 42 & 44; *Musnad* 1, ḥ. no. 16692 & 16694-5; Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 16, ḥ. no. 95.

[4] Bukhārī, k. *al-I'tiṣām bi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 7280; *Musnad* 1, ḥ. no. 8511.

[5] Muslim, k. *al-Imārah*, ḥ. no. 1835; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Bay'ah*, bā. no. 27, ḥ. no. 4193; k. *al-Isti'dhāh*, bā. no. 49, ḥ. no. 5510; Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, ḥ. no. 3.

person who obeys me and follows what I have brought, and the one who disobeys me and disbelieves in the truth I have brought."[6]

The previous *ḥadīths* contain a command or implied command for the Companions to act in accordance with the instructions and prohibitions that originate from both the Qur'ān or the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.

Moreover, the Prophet was very keen that people should follow his *Sunnah* and warned them on various occasions against neglecting the commands and prohibitions which he brought in addition to and in elucidation of those contained in the Qur'ān. He himself was well-aware that controversial opinions would arise and hence gave a clear warning against them, as reported by 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Rāfi' who narrated on the authority of his father that Allāh's Apostle said, "Let me not find one of you reclining on his couch when he hears something regarding me which I have commanded or forbidden, saying, 'We do not know. What we find in Allāh's Book, we will follow that only.'"[7] Al-Miqdām b. Ma'dī-karib al-Kindī also reports Allāh's Apostle as saying, "Yet the time is coming when a *ḥadīth* of mine will be related to a person reclining on his couch who will say, 'The book of Allāh, Mighty and Glorious, is (enough) between us and you. Whatever we find in it as *ḥalāl* (lawful) we accept as *ḥalāl* and whatever we find in it as *ḥarām* (prohibit), we take as *ḥarām*.' Behold, whatever Allāh's Apostle has declared as *ḥarām* is just like that which Allāh has declared as *ḥarām*."[8]

---

[6] Bukhārī, k. *al-I'tiṣām bi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 7283; Muslim, k. *al-Faḍā'il*, ḥ. no. 2283.
[7] Dāwūd, k. *al-Sunnah*, bā. no. 6, ḥ. no. 4605; Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, ḥ. no. 13; Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 2663. See also *Musnad* 1, ḥ. no. 23349.
[8] Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, ḥ. no. 12; Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 49, ḥ. no. 586; Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 2664.

The Prophet further stated that he did not only bring them the Qur'ān but also something similar along with it which they should follow, thereby illustrating its exalted status. Similarly, Al-Miqdām b. Ma'dī-karib narrates that the Prophet said, "Beware! I have been given the Qur'ān and something like it, yet the time is coming when a man replete on his couch will say, 'Keep to the Qur'ān, what you find in it to be permissible treat as permissible, and what you find in it to be prohibited treat as prohibited.' Beware! The domestic ass, beasts of prey with fangs, a find belonging to a confederate, unless its owner does not want it, are not permissible to you ... ."[9]

On one occasion, the Prophet dispatched a messenger in order to convene an assembly in his presence so that he might illustrate this point to them. Al-'Irbāḍ b. Sāriyah al-Sulamī said, "We alighted with the Prophet at Khaybar,[10] and he had his Companions with him. The chief of Khaybar was a defiant and abominable man. He came to the Prophet and said, 'Is it proper for you, Muḥammad, that you slaughter our donkeys, eat our fruit, and beat our women?' The Prophet became angry and said, 'Ibn 'Awf, ride your horse, and call loudly, 'Beware, Paradise is lawful only for a believer,' and order that they (the people) should gather for prayer.' They gathered and the Prophet led them in prayer, then stood up and said, 'Does any of you, while reclining on his couch, imagine that Allāh has prohibited only that which is to be found in this Qur'ān? By Allāh, I have preached, commanded and prohibited various matters as numerous as that which are found in the Qur'ān, or more numerous. Allāh has not permitted you to enter the houses of the

[9] Dāwūd, k. *al-Sunnah*, bā. no. 6, ḥ. no. 4604; *Musnad* 1, ḥ. no. 167221.
[10] A famous town situated about 200 miles north of Madīnah. It was the location of a great battle between the Muslims and the Jews in 7 AH.

people of the Book without permission, or beat their women, or eat their fruits when they have given you that which is imposed on them.'"[11]

Furthermore, he firmly objected to those who violated his *Sunnah*, even, as in this case, when the violation consisted of an excess committed with the intention of emulating him more closely (See above, p. 28).

He also made it known that attempting to bring something into Islam that is contrary to the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*, is totally unacceptable, desiring by this that the Companions abide solely by what he had brought. 'Amr b. 'Awf narrated that the Prophet said, "... He who introduces an innovation that Allāh and His Apostle have not sanctioned, would also incur punishment for the sin of one of the people that act upon it, without any diminution in the people's punishment for their sins."[12]

In addition to this, in his resolve that the *Sunnah* should be kept alive and circulating among people after his death, he said, as narrated by the above Companion, "He who revives a *sunnah* of mine that was extinct after me, will also receive a reward the same as that of one of the people that acts upon it, without any diminution in the people's rewards... ."[13]

It is clear from the previously cited *ḥadīths* of the Prophet, which contain his illustrations of the status of *Sunnah*, his command that it should be acted upon and his warning against neglect and contradiction of it, that it would certainly have provided significant motivation for the Companions in their preservation of the *Sunnah* as well as their abiding by it.

---

[11] Dāwūd, k. *al-Kharāj wa al-Imārah wa al-Fay'*, bā. no. 33, ḥ. no. 3050. See also *Musnad* 1, ḥ. no. 16743.
[12] Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 15, ḥ. no. 210; Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 16, ḥ. no. 2677. See also Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 15, ḥ. no. 209.

THE PROPHET'S EXHORTATION AND INSTRUCTION TO HIS COMPANIONS TO MEMORIZE *ḤADĪTH*

SECTION 2

THE PROPHET'S EXHORTATION AND INSTRUCTION TO HIS COMPANIONS TO MEMORIZE *ḤADĪTH*

A number of the Prophet's Companions reported that he would urge them to memorize *Ḥadīth*. Zayd b. Thābit said, "I heard the Apostle of Allāh say, 'May Allāh brighten a man who hears a *ḥadīth* from us, learns it by heart and passes it on to others ... .'"[14] The same *Ḥadīth* is narrated with a slightly different wording by 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who reports that the Prophet said, "May Allāh brighten a man who hears what I say, understands it, learns it by heart and passes it on to others. Many a bearer of knowledge conveys it to one who is more versed than he is... ."[15] The Prophet's exhortation of his Companions to memorize his *ḥadīths* is narrated on many different occasions, and expressed by him in various ways, such as, for example, in Abū al-Dardā''s narration, "May Allāh brighten a man who hears a *ḥadīth* from us, passes it on to others exactly as he heard it... ,"[16] and Anas b. Mālik's narration, "May Allāh brighten a man who hears a *ḥadīth* from us, understands it and passes it on to others... ."[17] It is evident that the Prophet urged them to this on more than one occasion, particularly in light of the fact that most of the above narrations were given by more than one Companion, and, for example, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd narrates two accounts, both the first, namely Zayd's

---

[13] Ibid.
[14] Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 3660.
[15] Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 2658.
[16] Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 24, ḥ. no. 230.
[17] Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 18, ḥ. no. 236.

ḥadīth,[18] and second narrations cited above. Furthermore, the Companion Abū al-Dardā' states that the Prophet mentioned this matter in one of his sermons,[19] while the Companion, Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, states that the Prophet mentioned it in one of his sermons at Minā, during a pilgrimage.[20] All this serves to demonstrate that the Prophet stated this particular *ḥadīth* on several occasions, and that it was well known amongst his Companions from Madīnah, not to mention the thousands of other pilgrims. Al-Suyuṭī considers it to be one of the *mutawātir ḥadīth* and quotes it in his book ***al-Azhār al-mutanāthirah*** with narrations by more than thirty Companions.[21]

The Prophet also requested those who came to see him from Bahrain to memorize his *ḥadīths*. Abū Jamrah narrates, "... Once Ibn 'Abbās said that a delegation of the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays came to the Prophet ... They said, 'We have come to you from a distant place and there is a tribe of the infidels of Muḍar between you and us and we can not come to you except in the sacred month. So please order us to do something good (i.e. right action) of which we may also inform our people whom we have left behind [at home] and by which we may enter Paradise.' The Prophet ordered them to do four things, and forbade them from four things... The Prophet further said, 'Memorize these [instructions] and tell them to the people whom you have left behind.'"[22]

This is a clear reference to the fact that the delegation from 'Abd al-Qays embraced Islam before the various other tribes from Muḍar that were situated between them and

---

[18] See *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 40.
[19] Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 24, ḥ. no. 230.
[20] Ibn Mājah, k. *al-Manāsik*, bā. no. 76, ḥ. no. 3056; Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 24, ḥ. no. 228; *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 41.
[21] Ṣuyūṭī *TR*, vol. 2, p. 179.
[22] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 25, ḥ. no. 87; Muslim, k. *al-Īmān*, ḥ. no. 24; Ṭayālisī, ḥ. no. 2747.

Madīnah. This is confirmed by Bukhārī's narrating that Ibn 'Abbās said, "The first *Jumu'ah* prayer offered after the *Jumu'ah* prayer at the mosque of Allāh's Apostle was in the mosque of the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays at Juwāthā in Bahrain."[23] It is well-known that the first *Jumu'ah* prayer that was offered in the Prophet's mosque took place during the first year of *hijrah.*[24] As to the *ḥadīth* related by Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, in which he cites what the Prophet said in his sermon at Minā, it occurred at a later date. This therefore shows us the importance that the Prophet attached to the question of the preservation of his *ḥadīths* (sayings) from the time that he arrived in Madīnah until the time of his pilgrimage in the year 10.

It is natural, therefore, that we find the contents of these Prophetic instructions reflected in the behavior of some of the Prophet's Companions. Abū Hurayrah tells us that he was always in the Prophet's company and further states, "I used to attend that which they used not to attend and I used to memorize that which they used not to memorize."[25] 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar testified that Abū Hurayrah was a learned man and had a good memory when he said, "You, Abū Hurayrah, are the most knowledgeable amongst us about the Apostle of Allāh and you have memorized more of his *ḥadīth*s than any of us." He made this statement after he had objected to one of Abū Hurayrah's narrations saying, "Check that what you are saying is correct." Upon hearing this, the latter took him by the hand, led him to 'Ā'ishah and asked her whether what he had said was correct, she answered, "Abū Hurayrah is right."[26] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb indicated that the Companions

---

[23] Bukhārī, k. *al-Jumu'ah*, bā. no. 11, ḥ. no. 892.
[24] See 'The Prophet's teaching in sermon form,' pp. 141-2.
[25] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 24, ḥ. no. 118.
[26] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 3, p. 363; *Bidāyah*, vol. 8, p. 107; *Fatḥ*, vol. 1, p. 225.

of the Prophet memorized his *ḥadīths*; he said, "One day the Prophet stood up amongst us for a long period and informed us about the beginning of creation [talking about everything in detail] until he mentioned the people of Paradise entering their places and the people of Hell entering their places. Some memorized what he had said, and some forgot it."[27] Furthermore, Al-Barā' b. 'Āzib repeated some sentences which he had memorized directly from the Prophet, using one word which differed from what the Prophet had used and the Prophet corrected him.[28] 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib complained to the Prophet that he had a poor memory and the Prophet told him how to overcome this problem. 'Alī said "... I used to hear a *ḥadīth* and when I tried to repeat it I could not, but today, when I hear *ḥadīth*s and relate them I do not miss a word."[29] 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al 'Āṣ used to memorize the *ḥadīths* by writing them down. He said, "I used to write down everything which I heard from the Apostle of Allāh. I intended (by this) to memorize it."[30] This is why Abū Hurayrah used to say, "There is none among the Companions of the Prophet who has narrated more *ḥadīth*s than I except 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr (b. Al-'Āṣ), who used to write them down, while I never did."[31] From the above statements, and others like them, it is apparent that the recording and memorization of the Prophet's *ḥadīths* was regarded as an important undertaking by many of the Companions.

---

[27] Bukhārī, k. *Bad' al-khalq*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 3192; Dāwūd, k. *al-Fitan*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 4240; Muslim, k. *al-Fitan*, ḥ. no. 23.
[28] Bukhārī, k. *al-Wuḍū'*, bā. no. 75, ḥ. no. 247; Muslim, k. *al-Dhikr*, ḥ. no. 56.
[29] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Da'awāt*, bā. no. 115, ḥ. no. 3570; *Akhlāq*, vol. 2, p. 259.
[30] *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 162; Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 3646; Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 43, ḥ. no. 484.
[31] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 39, ḥ. no. 113.

On the other hand, some of the Companions who disliked writing down the *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet reported that they used to memorize them, and, as in the case of Abū Sa'īd and Abū Mūsā, also encouraged their students to memorize *ḥadīth*s and not to write them down. Abū Burdah said, "Abū Mūsā once narrated some *ḥadīth*s to us, and when he noticed that we were writing them down, he asked us, 'Are you writing down what you have heard from me?' We said 'Yes.' He said, 'Give it (the slat) to me,' and requested some water to be brought to him, which he used to wipe out what we had written, and he said 'Learn them by heart as we have done.'"[32] Abū Naḍrah said, "I asked Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, 'Shall we write what we hear from you?' He answered, 'Do you want to turn it into Qur'ān?! Your Prophet used to talk to us and we used to memorize what he said, therefore do as we did."[33]

Due to their concern that the *ḥadīth*s might be forgotten, and indeed that they themselves should forget what they had memorized, the Companions engaged in the study of *Ḥadīth* and urged others to do likewise in order to assist themselves and others in understanding and committing them to memory, and also with the intention of revising *ḥadīths* that they might have forgotten.[34] It is worth noting that the Companions had no

[32] *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 66.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Dārimī, bā. no. 51, ḥ. number:

595 عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيِّ قَالَ: ''تَذَاكَرُوا الْحَدِيثَ فَإِنَّ الْحَدِيثَ يُهَيِّجُ الْحَدِيثَ.''

600 عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ: ''تَذَاكَرُوا هَذَا الْحَدِيثَ، لَا يَنْفَلِتْ مِنْكُمْ، فَإِنَّهُ لَيْسَ مِثْلَ الْقُرْآنِ مَجْمُوعٌ مَحْفُوظٌ، وَإِنَّكُمْ إِنْ لَمْ تَذَاكَرُوا هَـذَا الْحَدِيثَ يَنْفَلِتْ مِنْكُمْ، وَلَا يَقُولَنَّ أَحَدُكُمْ حَدَّثْتُ أَمْسِ فَلَا أُحَدِّثُ الْيَوْمَ، بَلْ حَدِّثْ أَمْسِ وَلْتُحَدِّثِ الْيَوْمَ وَلْتُحَدِّثْ غَدًا.''

601 قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: ''رُدُّوا الْحَدِيثَ وَاسْتَذْكِرُوهُ فَإِنَّهُ إِنْ لَمْ تَذْكُرُوهُ ذَهَبَ، وَلَا يَقُولَنَّ رَجُلٌ لِحَدِيثٍ قَدْ حَدَّثَهُ قَدْ حَدَّثْتُهُ مَرَّةً، فَإِنَّهُ مَـنْ كَانَ سَمِعَهُ يَزْدَادُ بِهِ عِلْمًا وَيَسْمَعُ مَنْ لَمْ يَسْمَعْ.''

607 عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ: ''إِذَا سَمِعْتُمْ مِنَّا حَدِيثًا فَتَذَاكَرُوهُ بَيْنَكُمْ.''

619 عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ {بن مسعود} قَالَ: ''تَذَاكَرُوا هَذَا الْحَدِيثَ فَإِنَّ حَيَاتَهُ مُذَاكَرَتُهُ.''

626 قَالَ عَلِيٌّ: ''تَذَاكَرُوا هَذَا الْحَدِيثَ وَتَزَاوَرُوا، فَإِنَّكُمْ إِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلُوا يَدْرُسْ.''

Akhlāq, vol. 1, p. 236; ḥ. number:

need to make a specific effort to memorize accounts of the various events in which the Prophet was involved which they themselves had witnessed, in addition to various of his more inherently memorable sayings, because, having witnessed them at first-hand they were naturally retained in their memories.

Some Companions excelled in memorizing *ḥadīth*s (sayings and actions) with a particular theme while the Prophet was still alive, due to their special interest or concern with that area. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, for example, was very interested in the *ḥadīth*s dealing with *fitan*,[35] so much so that he became the authority on that subject. He said, "The people used to ask Allāh's Apostle about the good, but I used to ask him about the evil lest I should be overtaken by it."[36] Other Companions also demonstrated a great depth of knowledge in a specific area: 'Ā'ishah memorized more of the *ḥadīths* concerning women than any other Companion; Zayd b. Thābit was the most knowledgeable concerning the *ḥadīth*s dealing with the rules of inheritance; Mu'ādh b. Jabal of the *ḥadīth*s dealing with what is lawful and what is prohibited; 'Umar of *ḥadīth*s dealing with financial matters; while 'Alī was the most knowledgeable regarding the *ḥadīth*s that deal with judicial questions.[37]

The evidence supporting our proposition is too great to discuss exhaustively. That which has been cited above, which clearly shows that various Companions actively

---

464 عن أنس بن مالك قال: "كنا نكون عند النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فنسمع منه الحديث، فإذا قمنا تذاكرناه فيما بيننا حتى نحفظه."
468 عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال: "تحدثوا وتذاكروا، فإن الحديث يُذَكِّرُ بعضه بعضاً."

See also *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 15633:
حَدَّثَنَا عَمْرُو بْنُ الْحَارِثِ أَنَّ مُوسَى بْنَ جُبَيْرٍ حَدَّثَهُ أَنَّ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ الْحُبَابِ الْأَنْصَارِيَّ حَدَّثَهُ أَنَّ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ أُنَيْسٍ حَدَّثَهُ أَنَّهُمْ تَذَاكَرُوا هُوَ وَعُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ يَوْمًا الصَّدَقَةَ فَقَالَ عُمَرُ: "أَلَمْ تَسْمَعْ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حِينَ ذَكَرَ غُلُولَ الصَّدَقَةِ، إِنَّهُ مَنْ غَلَّ مِنْهَا بَعِيرًا أَوْ شَاةً أُتِيَ بِهِ يَحْمِلُهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ." قَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ أُنَيْسٍ: "بَلَى."

And ḥ. no. 15633.

[35] Such as: afflictions; overpowered by a tyrant; killing; earthquakes; etc.

[36] Bukhārī, k. *al-Fitan*, bā. no. 11, ḥ. no. 7084; Muslim, k. *al-Imārah*, ḥ. no. 51 & 52.

memorize *ḥadīths* while the Prophet himself was alive, and continued to do so after his death, is probably sufficient to demonstrate the strength of concern that the Companions had with the memorization of the *ḥadīths* of the Prophet in response to his wishes and directives, and for other reasons.[38]

Thus, it is clear that the Prophet's exhortation of his Companions to memorize *Ḥadīth* was a very important factor in their preservation.

Finally, the Prophet did not merely instill a desire for and recognition of the necessity for the memorization of *Ḥadīth* in his Companions, and supervise their efforts to achieve that goal, but he also urged them to convey to others what they had memorized. He said, "...whoever memorizes anything of what I say should convey it to others."[39] This act of conveyance will be examined in the next section.

---

[37] See for example: *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 12493; Ṭabarānī *MS*, vol. 1, p. 355, ḥ. no. 556.
[38] See Chapter 1 and the following Sections of this Chapter.
[39] *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, p. 334.

THE PROPHET'S COMMAND THAT HIS COMPANIONS SHOULD CONVEY HIS *ḤADĪTH* TO OTHERS



SECTION 3

THE PROPHET'S COMMAND THAT HIS COMPANIONS SHOULD CONVEY HIS *ḤADĪTH* TO OTHERS

There were a number of approaches which the Prophet used in urging, and indeed commanding, his Companions to undertake the task of conveying to other people the message of Islam and the *Ḥadīth* (his sayings and actions) that they had heard from him. The Prophet did not shoulder the task of conveying the message alone, but rather he invited the participation of his Companions and others in this important endeavour. As such, we find a number of the Prophet's Companions narrating that the Prophet would urge them to undertake the task of conveying to others the *ḥadīths* which they had heard from him.

1. Bahz b. Ḥakīm narrated from his father, on the authority of his grandfather,[40] that a man came to the Prophet asking him about the Islam which he had brought. The Prophet then told him about Islam as well as imparting some *ḥadīths*. At the end of his speech the Prophet said, "Let those who are present convey it to those who are absent (فَلْيُبَلِّغِ الشاهِدُ منكم الغائِبَ)."[41]

2. Asmā' bint Yazīd al-Anṣāriyah narrated that the Prophet once told them in one of his gatherings about *al-a'war al-dajjāl* (the one-eyed impostor). He told them about the *dajjāl* and what he will do, and what will happen before and after his coming. Then the Prophet said at the end of his speech, "So whoever has attended this gathering and heard my

[40] He is Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥaydah al-Qushayrī. See *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, p. 205, no. 382.
[41] *Musnad* 1, vol. 5, p. 4.

speech let him convey it to those who are absent (فَمَنْ حَضَرَ مجلِسِي وسَمِعَ قولي، فليُبَلِّغ الشاهِدُ الغائبَ...)."[42]

3. After the conquest of Makkah, the Prophet, in his famous *khuṭbah*, which includes a number of famous *ḥadīths*, commanded his victorious Companions, who numbered several thousand, to convey to others what was contained in that *khuṭbah*. Abū Shurayḥ said, "When 'Amr b. Sa'īd was sending the troops to Makkah (to fight 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr) I said to him, 'O chief, allow me to tell you what the Prophet said on the day following the conquest of Makkah. My ears heard and my heart comprehended, and I saw him with my own eyes, when he said it. He glorified and praised Allāh and then said, 'Allāh, and not the people, has made Makkah a sanctuary... So let those who are present convey it to those who are absent.'"[43]

4. In the Prophet's *khuṭbah* at Minā, which was delivered during *ḥajj*, a number of Companions, including Abū Bakrah,[44] Ibn 'Abbās,[45] and Abū Ḥarrah al-Raqāshī[46] who narrated from his uncle and Abū Naḍrah, on the authority of someone who heard from the Prophet,[47] narrated that the Prophet said, [to the thousands of people present], "Let those who are present convey it to those who are absent."

---

[42] Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 456-7.
[43] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 37, ḥ. no. 104; *Musnad* 1, vol.6, p. 385; Muslim, k. *al-Ḥajj*, ḥ. no. 446; *Musnad* 1, vol. 6, 385; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Ḥajj*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 809; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Ḥajj*, bā. no. 111, ḥ. no.2875.
[44] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 67; Muslim, k. *al-Qasāmah*, ḥ. no. 29-30; *Musnad* 1, vol. 5, p. 37**, 40, 45, 49; Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 18, ḥ. no. 233; Dārimī, k. *al-Manāsik*, bā. no. 72, ḥ. no. 1852.
[45] Bukhārī, k. *al-Ḥajj*, bā. no. 132, ḥ. no. 1739.
[46] *Musnad* 1, vol. 5, pp. 72-3.
[47] Ibid., p. 411.

It is clear from the previous texts that the Prophet used to command his Companions to disseminate his *ḥadīths* after hearing them from him, and there is no doubt that the Prophet's command to do so became well known among his Companions.

Furthermore, the Prophet commanded them to disseminate the *ḥadīths* using the verb 'to narrate (حدّث)' as well as the verb 'to convey (بلّغ)'. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī narrated that the Prophet said, "... narrate [the *ḥadīths* (my sayings and actions)] from me... (حَدِّثوا عَنِّي);"[48] Abū Mūsā also narrated that that the Prophet said, "...whoever learns by heart a *ḥadīth* from me, let him narrate it to others (وَمَنْ حَفِظَ عَنِّي حديثا فَلْيُحَدِّثْهُ)."[49]

Another factor that stimulated people to undertake the essential task of conveying the *ḥadīths* was the Prophet's prayer in which he asked Allāh to brighten those who convey his *ḥadīths* to others (See above, p. 74). He also encouraged them by drawing their attention to a very important aspect of the issue, which is the fact that the *ḥadīth* may well reach a man who can understand it better than the one who conveys it to him. Zayd b. Thābt said that he heard the Apostle of Allāh say, "... Many a bearer of knowledge conveys it to one who is better versed than he is; and many a bearer of knowledge is not versed in it."[50]

---

[48] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 39, 46, 56; Muslim, k. *al-Zuhd*, ḥ. no. 72.
[49] *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, p. 334.
[50] Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 3660. In this *ḥadīth* the Prophet is narrated as praying for the prosperity of a man who transmits his *ḥadīhs* to others and teaches the knowledge contained therein. He stated that on occasion the man who hears a *ḥadīth* initially does not understand it in as much depth as the man to whom he transmits it; therefore, one should preach the knowledge of religion as much as possible.

We have seen that the same *ḥadīth* is narrated by 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and Jubayr b. Muṭ'im. The latter narrated it with slightly different wording who said that the Prophet mentioned it in his sermon at Minā (See above, pp. 75). We have also seen that al-Suyuṭī considers it to be one of the *mutawātir ḥadīth* (See above, p. 75).

In order to encourage those who did not know a great deal of the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*, we find the Prophet ordering them to convey even a single sentence: 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr narrates that the Prophet said, "Convey (my teachings) from me to the people even if it were a single sentence... ."[51]

From the evidence mentioned previously, it can be concluded that ensuring the correct conveyance and propagation of his *ḥadīths* and indeed of the entire message of Islam was given the greatest attention by the Prophet, from the beginning of his call to Islam up until his death. He once asked his Companions whether he had fallen short of conveying the message of Allāh to them, the Companions replied, "We testify that you have conveyed the message of Allāh, advised your *ummah* and performed the duty which was laid upon you."[52] Additionally, in order to make clear the importance of abiding by what he had conveyed to the Companions, the Prophet told them about the situation of those who did not abide by what he had conveyed to them: they will come to ask for his intercession on the Day of Judgement, but he will respond to every one of them saying, "I can not help you, for I have conveyed to you."[53]

---

[51] Bukhārī, k. *al-Anbiyā'*, bā. no. 50, ḥ. no. 3461; Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 13, ḥ. no. 2669; Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 46, ḥ. no. 542; *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, pp. 159, 202, 214-5.
[52] *Musnad* 1, vol. 5, p. 16; *Mustadrak*, vol. 1, pp. 478-9.
[53] Bukhārī, k. *al-Jihād*, bā. no.189, ḥ. no.3073; Muslim, k. *al-Imārah*, ḥ. no. 24.

In order to safeguard his teachings, in their propagation by his Companions and others, from distortion, addition or reduction, the Prophet took the following precautionary measures:

First: He commanded them to only convey what they knew to be a *ḥadīth* from him. Ibn 'Abbās narrated that the Prophet said, "Beware of conveying *ḥadīths* from me except for that which you know to be a *ḥadīth*."[54]

Second: He prayed that Allāh would brighten those who accurately conveyed his *ḥadīths* without addition or reduction. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd narrated that he heard the Prophet say, "May Allāh brighten a person who hears any thing from us and conveys it to others exactly as he heard it."[55] Abū al-Dardā' also narrated that the Prophet said very much the same in his *khuṭbah*.[56] Anas b. Mālik narrated that the Prophet said, "May Allāh brighten a person who hears my speech and does not add anything to it, and then conveys it to someone who did not hear it."[57]

Third: He made a statement to the effect that lying about him is not like lying about anybody else in its consequences. Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah narrated that he heard the Prophet saying, "Lying about me is not like lying about anybody else."[58]

---

[54] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Tafsīr*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 2951; *Musnad* 1, vol. 1, pp. 293, 323; See also Ibn 'Adī, vol. 1, p. 12; Mishkāt, k. *al-'Ilm*, chapter 2, ḥ. no.232.

[55] Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no.2657. See also Mishkāt, k. *al-'Ilm*, chapter 2, ḥ. no. 230.

[56] See above, pp. 74-5.

[57] *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 42.

[58] Muslim, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 4; Ibn 'Adī also mention it from the narration of Sa'īd b. Zayd. See vol. 1, p. 9.

Fourth: He branded as a liar any person who narrates *ḥadīths* that are deemed false. Samurah b. Jundub and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah narrated that the Prophet said, "Whoever narrates a *ḥadīth* from me that is known to be false, is one of the liars."[59]

Fifth: On many occasions he made clear that those who lie about him would be in Hell-fire. This has been narrated by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,[60] Salamah,[61] Anas b. Mālik,[62] Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī[63] and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr.[64] Al-Suyuṭī considered it to be one of the *mutawātir ḥadīth* and quoted it in his book ***Qaṭf al-azhār*** with narrations by more than seventy five Companions.[65]

In conclusion, it is apparent that the Prophet's command to his Companions to convey his *ḥadīths* and the message of Islam properly and accurately, was in order that these *ḥadīths* would be preserved and so could be passed on to others, as has occurred ever since.

[59] Muslim, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 1. See also Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 5, ḥ. no. 38-41. He mentions it from the narration of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 2662.
[60] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 38, ḥ. no. 106; Muslim, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 1.
[61] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 38, ḥ. no. 109; Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 4, ḥ. no. 34.
[62] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 38, ḥ. no. 108;
[63] *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, p. 93; See Muslim, k. *al-Zuhd*, ḥ. no. 72.
[64] Bukhārī, k. *al-Anbiyā'*, bā. no. 50, ḥ. no. 3461; Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 13, ḥ. no. 2669.
[65] PP. 23-4.

THE PROPHET'S PERMISSION FOR THE WRITING DOWN OF HIS *ḤADĪTH*



SECTION 4

THE PROPHET'S PERMISSION FOR THE WRITING DOWN OF HIS *ḤADĪTH*[66]

Researchers on the subject of the recording of the Prophetic *ḥadīths* find two groups of *ḥadīths*, that address this issue: the first group allows and indeed commands the writing down of *ḥadīths*, whereas the second group prohibits it. Before endorsing either of these two groups of *ḥadīths* as abrogating the other, or indeed ascertaining their authenticity, it is necessary to study, in depth, the transmission of each *ḥadīth* individually, in accordance with the methodology of the traditionists.[67] We then have to identify the particulars of the subject at issue from the analytical standpoint of the authentic texts. The approach of the Companions, who were responsible for transmitting both groups, is crucial in determining the outcome of this discussion, while the chronological arrangement of the *ḥadīths* may also help us to reach an accurate conclusion with regards to this issue.

A. *ḥadīths* that allow writing

The permission to allow the writing down of *Ḥadīth* is understood from the following Prophetic *ḥadīths*:

A1. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ,[68] Anas b. Mālik[69] and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās[70] all report that the Prophet said, "Document knowledge (*al-'ilm*) by writing."

[66] The following discussion deals only with the *ḥadīths* ascribed to the Prophet.
[67] Every *ḥadīth* has two elements; the *isnād* (the chain of transmitters) and the *matn* (text). Each of these two parts is of equal importance to a scholar. The latter, as a report of the sayings or doings of the Prophet, forms the basis of the Islamic rituals and laws; and the former constitutes the credentials of the latter. In order to verify the authenticity of a *ḥadīth,* the traditionists analysed both the *matn* and the *isnad* using a highly developed science.
[68] *Mustadrak*, vol. 1, p. 188; Rāmhurmuzī, p. 365, ḥ. no. 318; *Taqyīd*; p. 69; *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 73.
[69] Rāmhurmuzī, p. 368, ḥ. no. 327; *Taqyīd*, p. 70; *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 72.
[70] *Silsilat*, vol. 5, p. 43, no. 2026, citing *Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 101 Q.

A2. Rāfi' b. Khadīj asked the Prophet, "We hear some things from you, shall we write them?" The Prophet said, "Write (them) down and it is not sinful to do so."[71]

A3. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr said, "I used to write down everything that I heard from the Apostle of Allāh. I intended (by that) to memorize it. The Quraysh prohibited me saying, 'Do you write everything that you hear from him while the Apostle of Allāh is a human being; he speaks in anger and in pleasure?!' So I stopped writing, and mentioned it to the Apostle of Allāh. He signaled with his finger to his mouth and said, 'Write, for by Him in whose hand lies my soul, only truth comes out from it.'"[72]

A4. Abū Hurayrah said, "When Allāh gave victory to His Apostle over the people of Makkah, Allāh's Apostle stood up among the people and, after glorifying Allāh, said, 'Allāh has prohibited fighting in Makkah and has given authority over it to His Apostle and the believers, fighting was not legal for anyone before me, and was made legal for me for a part of a day, and it will not be legal for anyone after me. Its game should not be hunted, its thorn bushes should not be uprooted, and picking up its fallen things is not allowed except for one who makes a public announcement, and he whose relative is murdered has the option either to accept a compensation for it or to retaliate.' Al-'Abbās said, 'Except *al-idhkhir*, for we use it in our graves and houses.' Allāh's Apostle said, 'Except *al-idhkhir*.' Abū Shāh, a Yemenite, stood up and said, 'O Allāh's Apostle! Get it written for me.' Allāh's Apostle said to his Companions, 'Write it for Abū Shāh.'"[73]

---

[71] *Taqyīd*, p. 73; Rāmhurmuzī, p. 369, ḥ. no. 331.

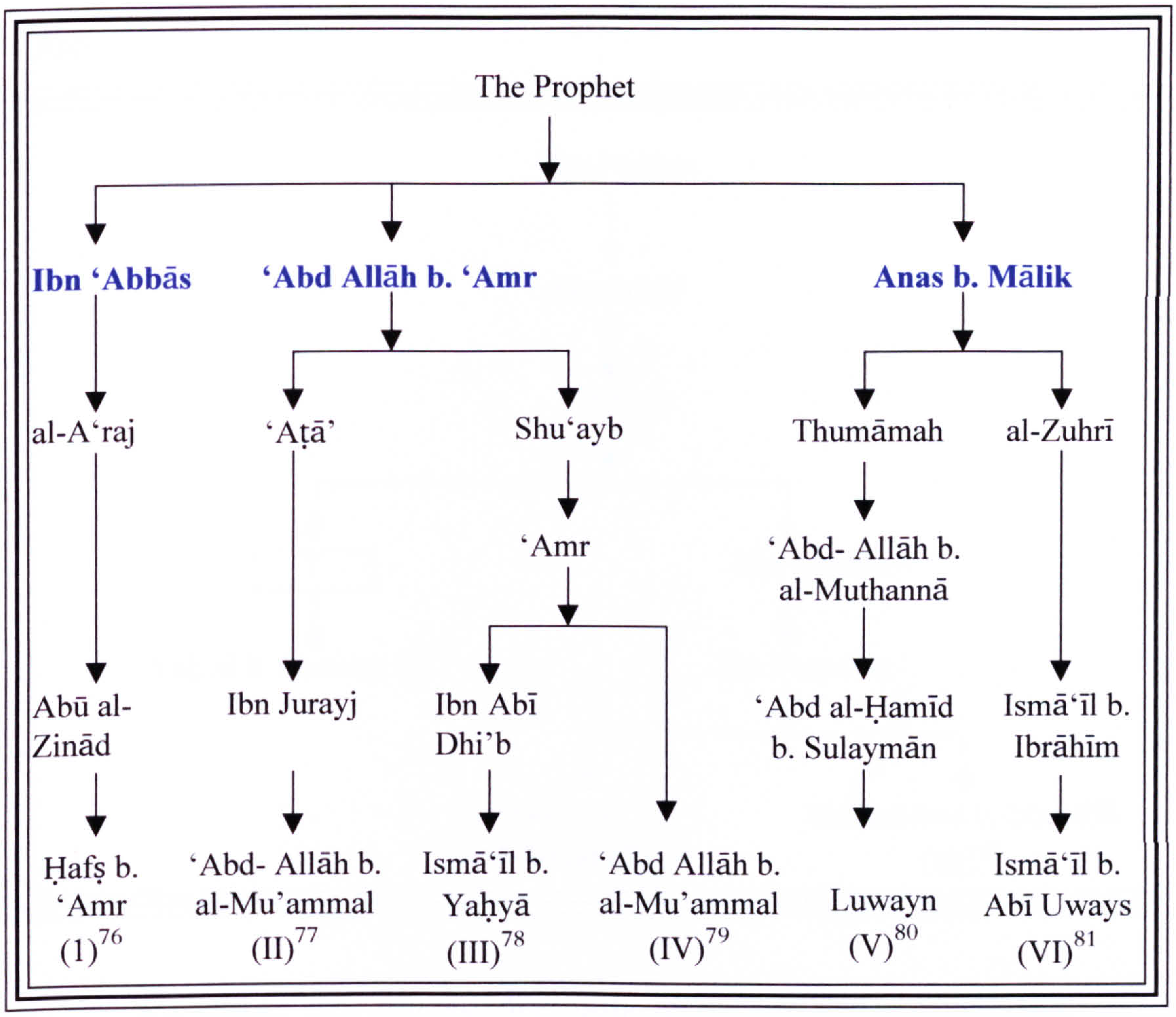
[72] Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 3646; *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 162, 192; Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 43, ḥ. no. 484; *Taqyīd*, p. 80; *Akhlāq*, vol. 2, p. 36; *Mustadrak*, vol. 1, pp. 186-7; *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 71; Rāmhurmuzī, 336, ḥ. no. 321.

[73] Bukhārī, k. *al-Luqaṭah*, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 2434; Muslim, k. *al-Ḥajj*, ḥ. no. 447; *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 238; Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 3649; Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 12, ḥ. no. 2667; *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 70; *Taqyīd*, p. 86; Rāmhurmuzī, pp. 363-4, ḥ. no. 314.

A5. Both Abū Hurayrah[74] and Anas b. Mālik[75] narrate that a man of the Anṣār said to the Prophet, "Oh Prophet of Allāh, I hear from you *ḥadīths* and I am afraid that I may lose them!" The Prophet replied, "Seek help in your right hand [i.e. write them down]."

An examination of the transmission of the above permitting *ḥadīths*

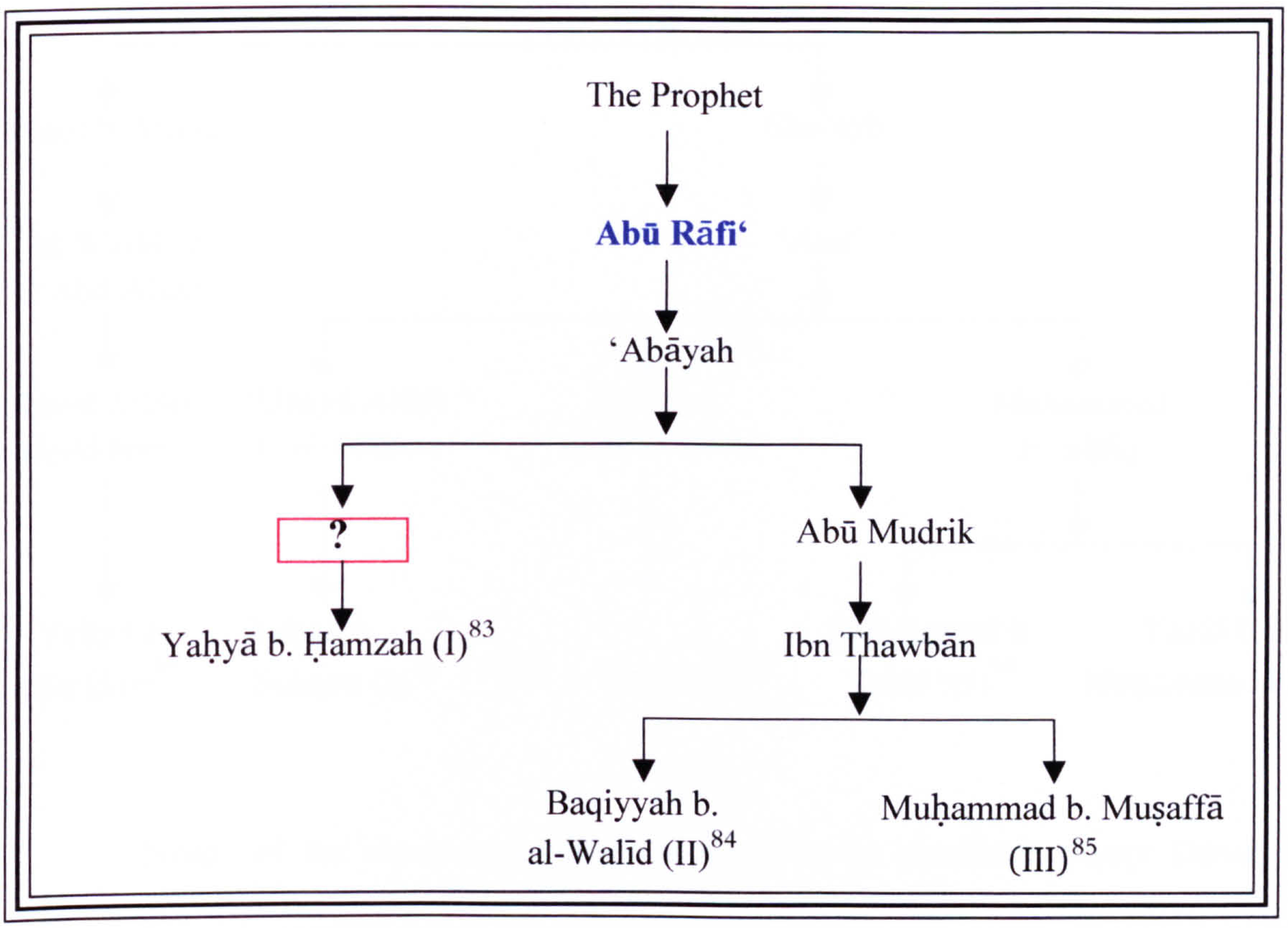
First: An examination of the transmission of the first *ḥadīth* (A1) narrated by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, Anas b. Mālik and Ibn 'Abbās



[74] *Taqyīd*, p. 66.
[75] Ibid., p. 67.
[76] *Silsilat*, vol. 5, p. 43, citing *Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 101Q.
[77] *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 73; *Taqyīd*, p. 69.
[78] *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 72; Rāmhurmuzī, p. 368; *Taqyīd*, p. 70.
[79] Rāmhurmuzī, p. 365, *Taqyīd*, p. 69.
[80] *Silsilat*, vol. 5, p. 41, citing ***al-Fawā'id***, vol. 2, p. 245; ***Akhbār aṣbahān***, vol. 2, p. 228; ***Musnad al-Shihāb***, vol. 2, p. 53.

The famous modern traditionist, Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, in his book ***Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ṣaḥiḥah***, vol. 5, pp. 40-44, has exhaustively examined the above chains of transmission and established their authenticity in their collective narrations, concluding that, "There is no doubt that this *ḥadīth* is authentic according to the aggregate number of its transmissions."[82]

Second: An examination of the transmission of the second *ḥadīth* (A2) narrated by Abū Rāfi‘



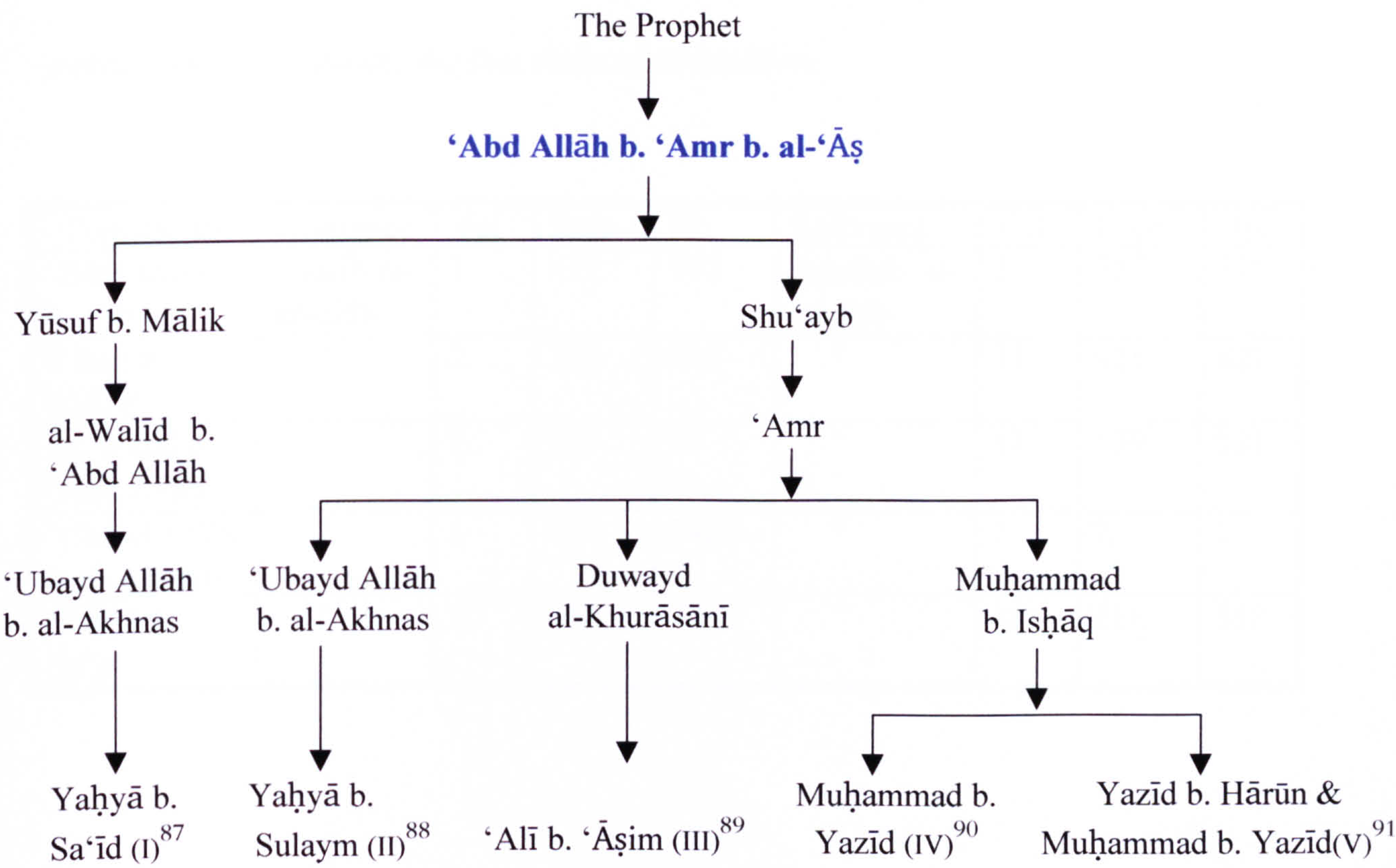
We should note that the first chain of transmission is incomplete (*maqṭū‘* or *munqaṭi‘*); due to the fact that Yaḥyā b. Ḥamzah did not hear from ‘Abāyah, whereas the second and third chains of transmission are on the authority of Abū Mudrik. Al-Dhahabī

---

[81] *Taqyīd*, p. 69.
[82] We refer the reader to his exhaustive examination.
[83] Rāmhurmuzī, p. 369, no. 330.

says, "Al-Dāraquṭnī says, 'Abū Mudrik is *matrūk*.'"[86] Therefore, no reliable evidence can be derived from his narration according to the above chains of transmission.

Third: An examination of the transmission of the third *ḥadīth* (A3) narrated by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ



None of the above transmitters is found to be unreliable except Duwayd al-Khurāsānī whose name we could not trace in any of the traditionists' references regarding

---

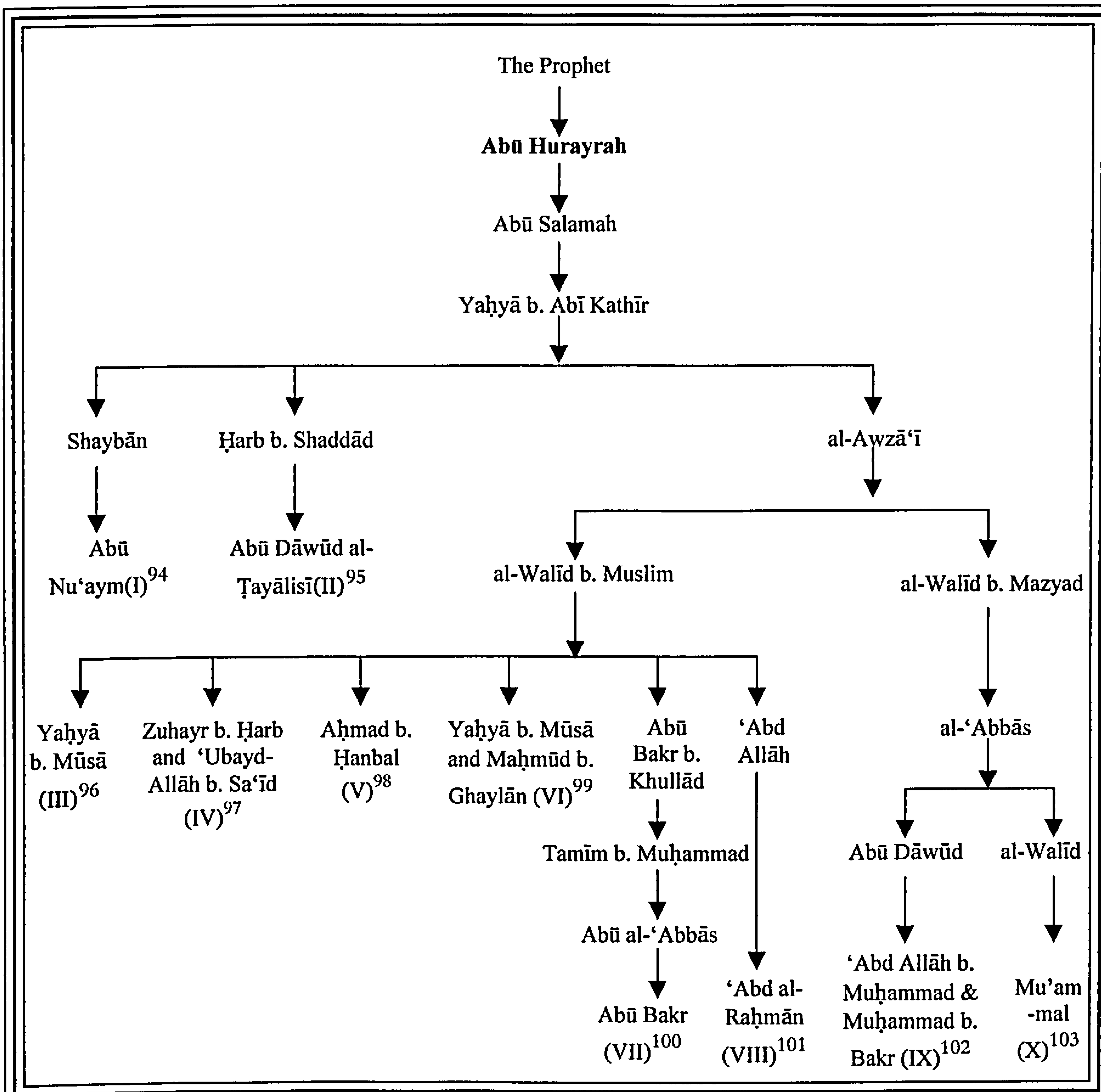
[84] *Taqyīd*, pp. 72-3; Rāmhurmuzī, p. 369, no. 331.
[85] *Taqyīd*, p. 73.
[86] *Mīzān*, vol. 4, p. 571, no. 10589.
[87] *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 162; *Mustadrak*, vol.1, p. 187; Dārimī, k. *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 43, ḥ. no. 484; Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 3646; *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 71; *Akhlāq*, vol. 1, p. 36, no. 1109; *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 207.
[88] Rāmhurmuzī, p. 366, no. 321.
[89] *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 215.
[90] Ibid., p. 215.
[91] Ibid., p. 207.

al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl (Criticism and justification).[92] Aḥmad Shākir reports that this man is unknown.[93] Accordingly, this specific transmission would be considered to be tenuous (*ḍa'īf*). However, the other chains are credible as, for example, can be seen in the following table in which, by referring to the judgements of the specialized scholars in ***Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*** and the judgement of Ibn Ḥajar in ***Taqrīb al-tahdhīb,*** we can authenticate, for instance, the first chain of transmitters:

Transmitter	Reference	Vol.	Page	No.	Reference	Vol.	Page	No.
'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr	Taqrīb al-tahdhīb	1	436	502	Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb	5	337	575
Yūsuf b. Māhik	"	2	382	449	"	11	421	821
Al-Walīd b. 'Abd Allāh	"	2	333	65	"	11	139	231
'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Akhnas	"	1	530	1423	"	7	2	1
Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd	"	2	348	72	"	11	216	358

[92] Such as: *Mīzān*; *Nubalā'*; *Ḥātim*; *Majrūḥīn*; *Tahdhīb*; Bukhārī *ḌṢ* and Nasā'ī *Ḍ*.
[93] *Musnad* 2, vol. 11, p. 213, no. 7018. Also, Aḥmad Shākir has exhaustively examined the chains no.'s I, IV and V, and proved their authenticity in vol. 10, p. 15-7, vol. 11, p. 214 and vol. 11, pp. 157-8.

Fourth: An examination of the transmission of the fourth *ḥadīth* (A4) narrated by Abū Hurayrah



[94] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 39, ḥ. no. 112.
[95] *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 238.
[96] Bukhārī, k. *al-Luqaṭah*, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 2434.
[97] Muslim, k. *al-Ḥajj*, ḥ. no. 447.
[98] *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 238.
[99] Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. 12, ḥ. no. 2667.
[100] *Taqyīd*, p. 86.
[101] Rāmhurmuzī, pp. 363-4.
[102] *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 70.

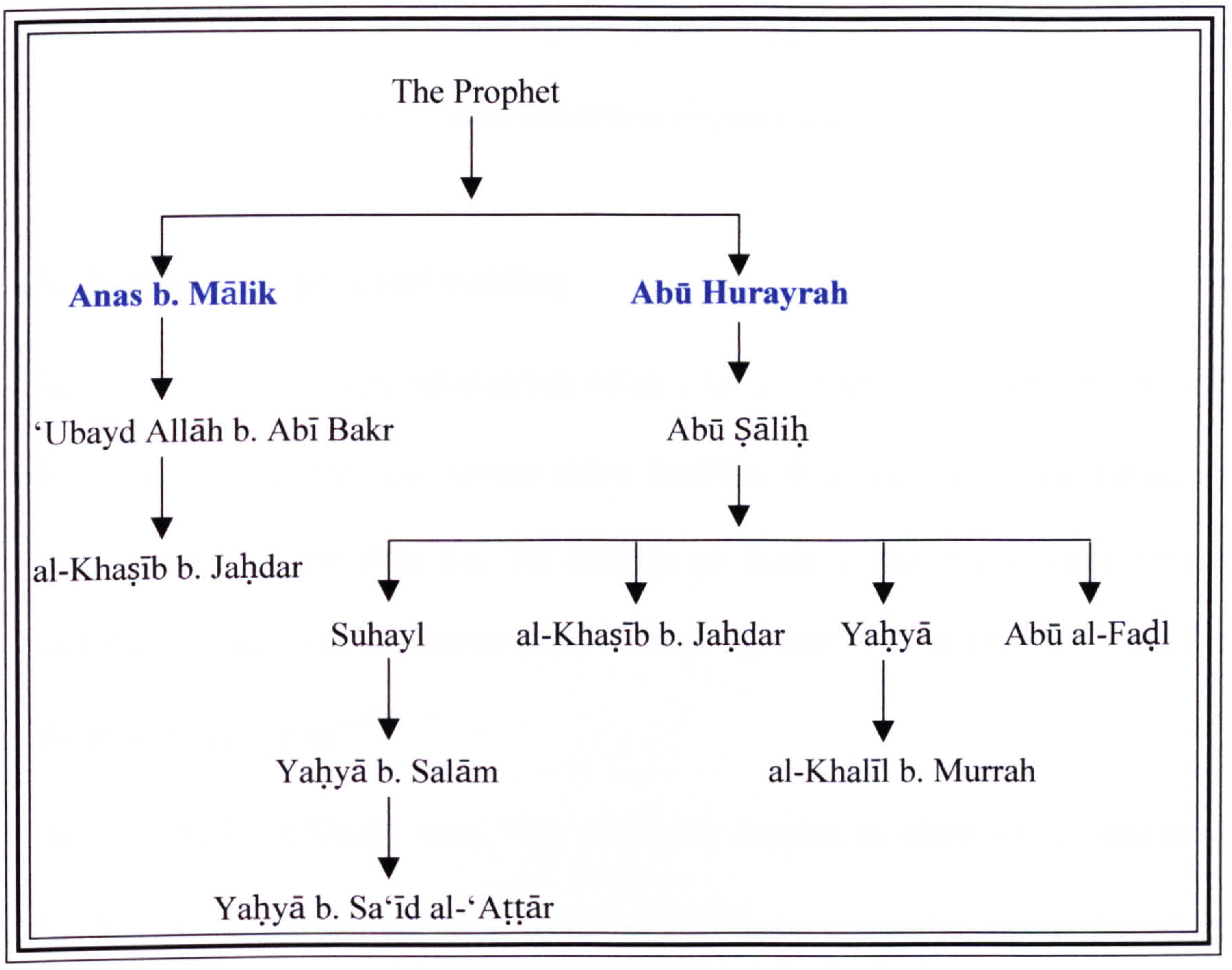
An examination of the above chains of transmission would be very difficult in practice. However, the verification of al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's narrations, referred to in the above diagram in figures (I), (III) and (IV), gives us a good idea as to the credibility or otherwise of the transmission process. The scholars specialising in the criticism of *Ḥadīth* approved of the transmitters of those narrations, as can be seen from their judgements in ***Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*** and in addition, from the judgement of Ibn Ḥajar in ***Taqrīb al-tahdhīb***:

Transmitter	Reference	Vol.	Page	No.	Reference	Vol.	Page	No.
Abū Hurayrah	Taqrīb al-tahdhīb	-	-	-	Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb	12	262	1216
Abū Salamah	"	2	430	63	"	12	115	537
Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr	"	2	356	158	"	11	268	539
Shaybān	"	1	356	115	"	4	373	628
Abū Nu'aym	"	2	110	34	"	8	270	504
Al-Awzā'ī	"	1	493	1064	"	6	238	484
Al-Walīd b. Muslim	"	2	336	89	"	11	151	254
Yaḥyā b. Mūsā	"	2	359	185	"	11	289	565
Zuhayr b. Ḥarb	"	1	264	73	"	3	342	637

Thus, in the final analysis, all of these transmitters are trustworthy and credible; and therefore their narrations are deemed to be authentic and admissible.

Fifth: An examination of the transmission of the fifth *ḥadīth* (A5) narrated by Abū Hurayrah and Anas b. Mālik[104]

[103] Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 3649.
[104] *Taqyīd*, pp. 65-8.



All of these chains of transmission are objectionable and are inadmissible owing to the unreliability of the transmitters. For instance al- Khaṣīb b. Jaḥdar has been criticized as a liar[105] and is therefore classified as a blameworthy narrator. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-'Aṭṭār[106] and al-Khalīl b. Murrah[107] were also criticized as weak. Abū al-Faḍl is described as unknown.[108] Accordingly the *ḥadīth* in question is inadmissible according to all the reliable critics of *Ḥadīth*.

---

[105] *Majrūḥīn*, vol. 1, p. 287; Ḥātim, vol 3, p. 396, no. 1826; *Mīzān*, vol. 1, p. 653, no. 2509.
[106] *Majrūḥīn*, vol. 2, p. 123, Ḥātim, vol. 9, p. 152, no. 628; *Mīzān*, vol. 4, p. 379, no. 9519; *Taqrīb*, vol. 2, p. 348, no. 73.
[107] *Majrūḥīn*, vol. 1, p. 286; *Mīzān*, vol. 1, p. 667, no. 2572; *Taqrīb*, vol. 1, p. 228, no. 166.
[108] *Taqyīd*, p 67.

In conclusion, we have ascertained that all of the Prophetic *ḥadīths* permitting the writing down of *ḥadīths* are authentic and reliable except the second (A2) and fifth (A5), which were narrated by Rāfi', Abū Hurayrah and Anas b. Mālik respectively, owing to the unreliability of their chains of transmission as shown above.

B. *ḥadīths* that prohibit writing

B1. Abū Sa'īd Al-Khudrī reported that Allāh's Apostle said, "Do not write down anything from me, and he who has written down anything from me, except the Qur'ān, should efface it; and narrate from me, for there is no harm in that and he who attributes any falsehood to me (and Hammām said, 'I think he also said, 'deliberately') will find his abode in the Hell-Fire."[109]

B2. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī said, "We asked the Prophet to allow us to write down his *ḥadīths* but he did not allow us to do so."[110] Some narrations report that Abū Sa'īd personally sought the Prophet's permission but failed to gain it.[111]

B3. Abū Hurayrah narrates, "The Prophet came to us when we were writing his *ḥadīths*. He prevented us from doing so ..."[112]

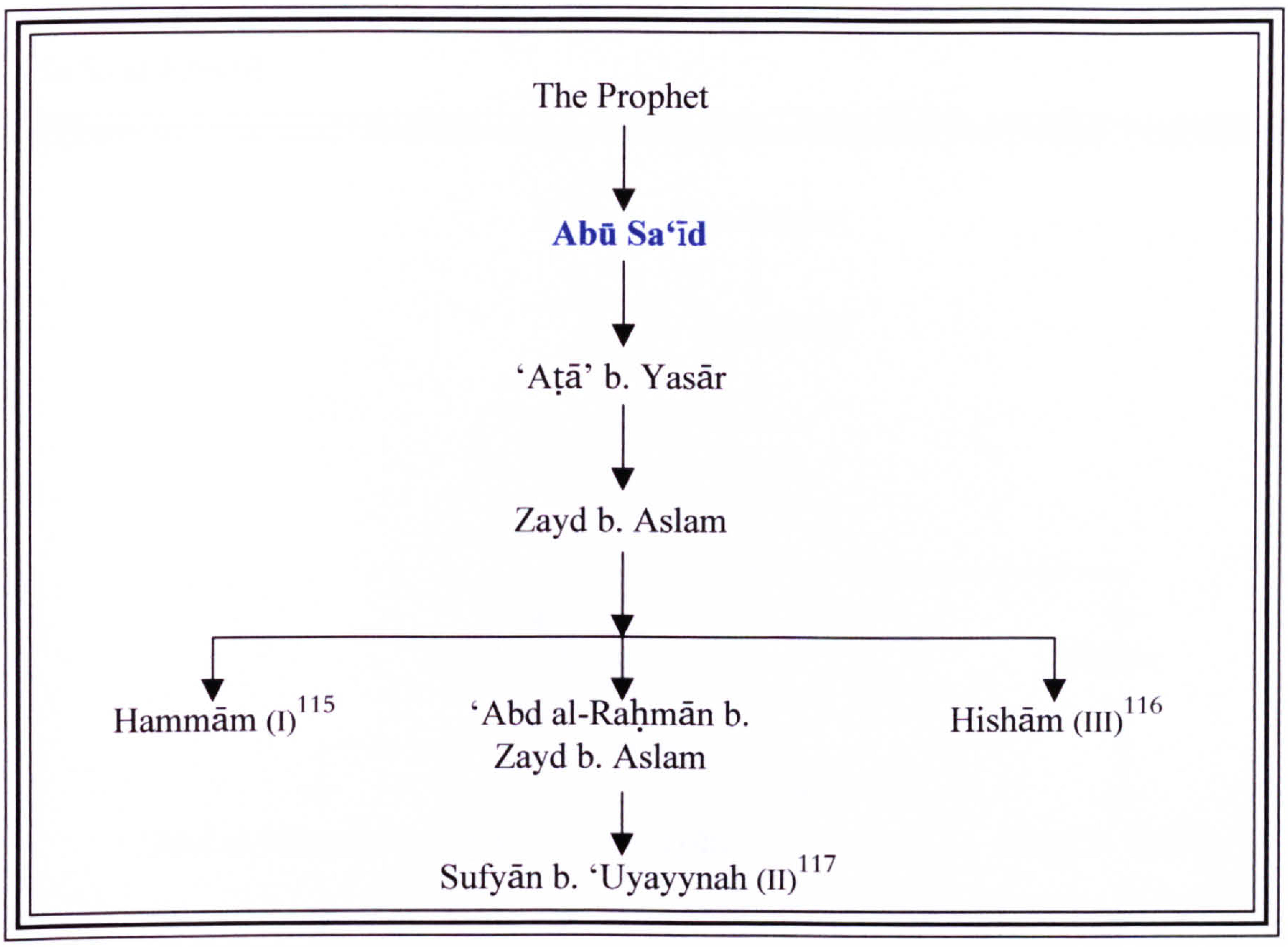
B4. Zayd b. Thābit reports that the Prophet prevented His Companions from writing His *ḥadīths*.[113] Other narrations said that Zayd b. Thābit entered upon Mu'āwiyah and asked

[109] Muslim, k. *al-Zuhd wa al-raqā'iq*, ḥ. no. 72; *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, p. 12**, p. 21, 39 and 56; Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 42, ḥ. no. 450; *Taqyīd*, pp. 29-32.
[110] Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 11, ḥ. no. 2665; *Taqyīd*, p. 33; Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 42, ḥ. no. 451; Rāmhurmuzī, p. 379, ḥ. no. 362.
[111] *Taqyīd*, pp. 32-3.
[112] Ibid., pp. 33-5.
[113] Ibid., p. 35.

him about a *ḥadīth*. He ordered a man to write it. Zayd said, "The Apostle of Allāh ordered us not to write any of his *ḥadīths*." He then erased it.[114]

An examination of the transmission of the above preventive *ḥadīths*

First: An examination of the transmission of the first *ḥadīth* (B1) narrated by Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī

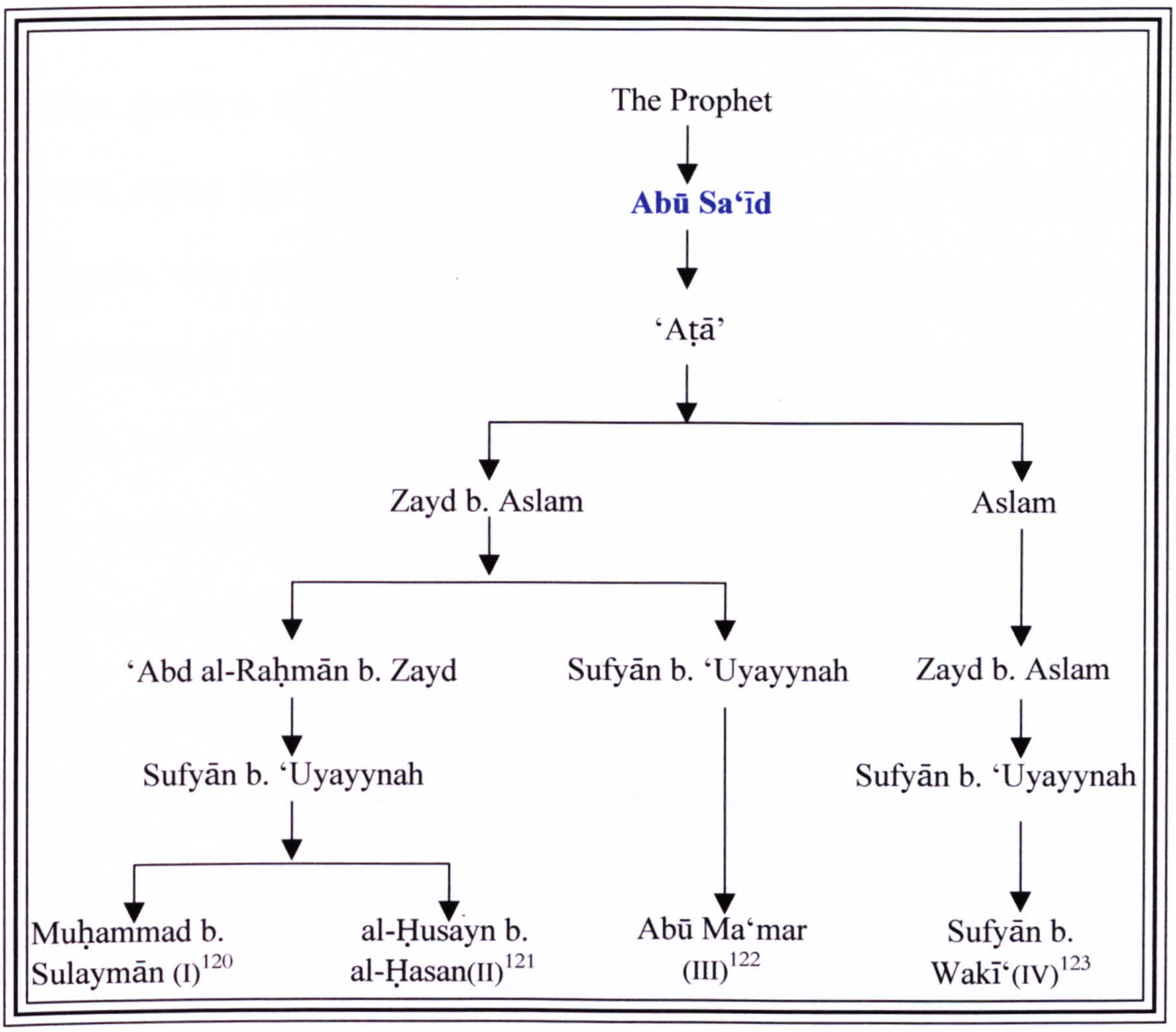


The specialist scholars of *Ḥadīth* differ regarding this particular *ḥadīth*: Some say that it only goes back to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, while the others trace it back to the Prophet himself. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī reports that many of the authorities on this science, including al-Bukhārī and others, consider this *ḥadīth* to merely be a statement by Abū

[114] Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 3647; *Taqyīd*, p. 35.
[115] Muslim, k. *al-Zuhd*, ḥ. no. 72; *Taqyīd*, p. 29-31; *Mustadrak*, vol. 1, p. 127; *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, p. 12**, 21, 39 and 56.
[116] *Taqyīd*, p. 33.
[117] Ibid.; Rāmhurmuzī, p. 379, ḥ. no. 362.

Sa'īd al-Khudrī.[118] Besides, al-Khaṭīb certifies that it was widely known that this *ḥadīth* went back to Abū Sa'īd and no further.[119] It can then be said that the *ḥadīth* reported by Abū Sa'īd which prohibits the writing of *ḥadīths* is a controversial *ḥadīth* because the scholars are in doubt of whether its source is in fact the Prophet or Abū Sa'īd.

Second: An examination of the transmission of the second *ḥadīth* (B2) narrated by Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī



A. An examination of the first and second transmissions

[118] *Fatḥ*, vol. 1, p. 208.
[119] *Taqyīd*, p. 32.
[120] Ibid., pp. 32-3.
[121] Ibid., p. 33; Rāmhurmuzī, p. 379, no. 362.
[122] Dārimī, k. *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 42, ḥ. no. 451.

The critics of *Ḥadīth* almost all agree on the unreliability of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd and maintain that his narrations are unacceptable. For instance, al-Bukhārī says in his book ***al-Du'afā' al-ṣaghīr*** that 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh had very much discredited 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd.[124] Also, al-Nasā'ī concludes in his book ***al-Ḍu'afā' wa al-matrūkīn*** that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd is *ḍa'īf* (weak).[125] The same opinion is expressly held by Ibn Ḥibbān who accuses 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd of altering the content and chains of transmission of his narrations to such an extent that he merits the designation *al-tark* (one whose *ḥadīth* is left aside as invalid.) He also mentions the assessments of various other critics, saying that Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, the famous traditionist, is of the opinion that 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abd Allāh and Usāmah, the sons of Zayd b. Aslam, were all discreditable transmitters of Prophetic *ḥadīths*. It is reported by al-Shāfi'ī that Mālik was once told a *ḥadīth*, which he found suspicious. Mālik commented, "Go to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd who would ascribe it to his father on the authority of Noah!" Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal agrees with the above opinions on 'Abd al-Raḥmān b Zayd.[126] Al-Dhahabī mentions all of these opinions, adding to them al-Shāfi'ī's description of an incident where a man asked 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd, "Did your father tell you that the ark of Noah came and circumambulated the *Ka'bah* and prayed two *rak'as* behind the *maqām*?[127]" He replied, "Yes."[128] 'Abd al-Raḥmān was also discredited by many others, such as Abū Ḥātim al-

---

[123] Tirmidhī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 11, ḥ. no. 2665.
[124] Bukhārī *ḌṢ*, p. 245.
[125] Nasā'ī *Ḍ*, p. 294.
[126] *Majrūḥīn*, pp. 57-8.
[127] The place where Prophet Ibrāhīm stood while he and Ismā'īl were building the Ka'bah in Makkah.
[128] *Mīzān*, vol. 2, pp. 564-6, no. 4868.

Rāzī, Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī[129] and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī.[130] Therefore, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd's narration of the Prophetic *ḥadīth* at issue seems to be unacceptable and thus can not be used in support of a credible argument.

B. An examination of the third and fourth transmissions

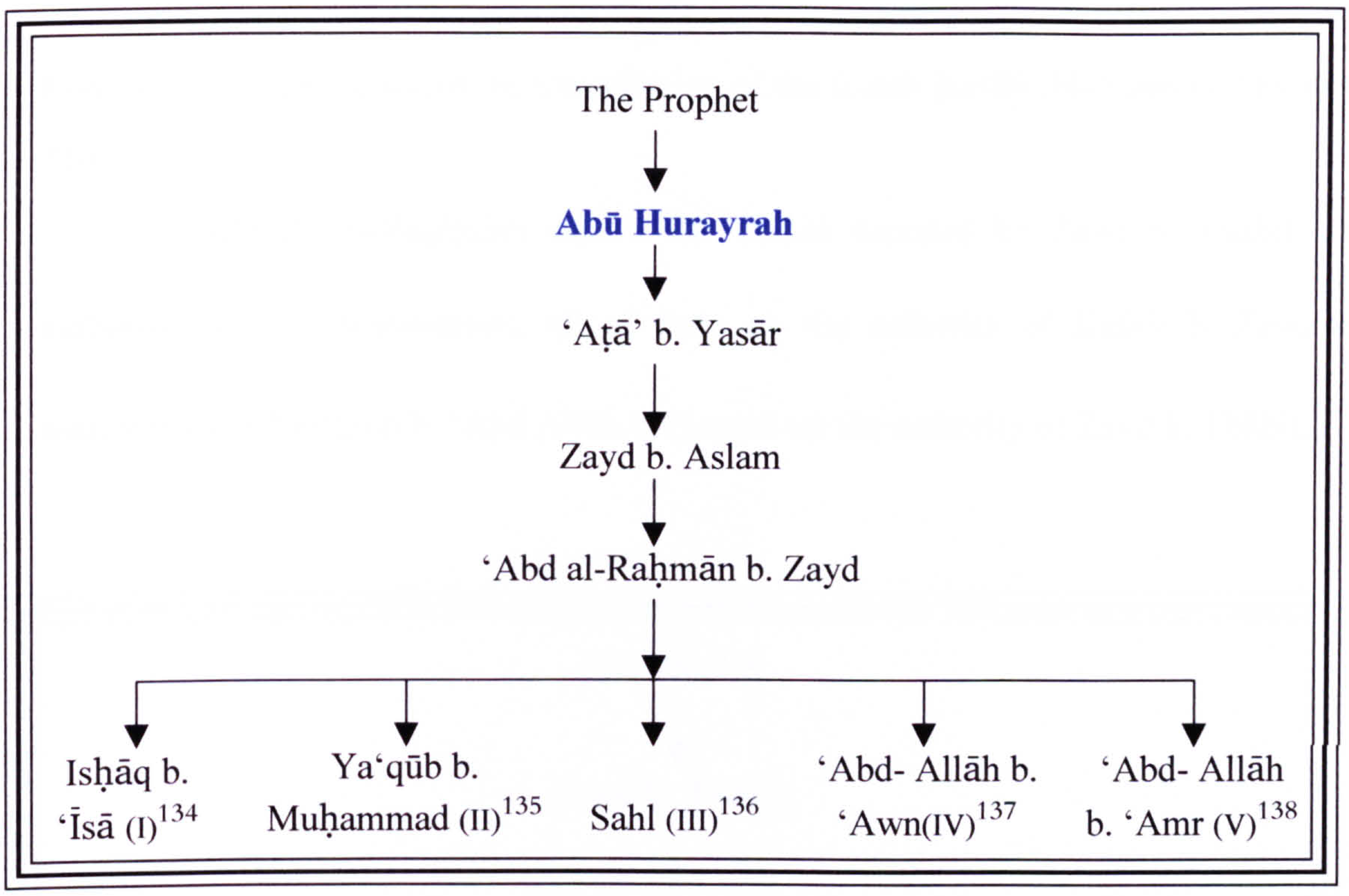
The third chain of transmission is on the authority of Sufyān b. Wakī', who, it is claimed, is a discreditable transmitter because he used to rely on an untrustworthy scribe. Therefore, he was discredited in this regard as a matter of precaution.[131] As far as the fourth chain of transmission is concerned- it is on the authority of Abū Ma'mar who is a trustworthy, credible transmitter.[132] In addition, no one else in this chain of transmitters is found to be discreditable.[133] Accordingly, this narration seems to be sound by this chain and can be regarded as legitimate evidence in elucidating the matter under discussion.

---

[129] Ḥātim, vol. 2, p. 233.
[130] *Taqrīb*, vol. 1, p. 480, no. 941.
[131] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 312, no. 323; *Tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 123-4, Ḥātim, vol. 4, p. 230, no. 991.
[132] *Taqrīb*, vol. 1, p. 65, no. 475; *Mīzān*, vol. 1, p. 220, no. 844.
[133] See for example: *Mīzān*; Ḥātim; *Nubalā'* and *Tahdhīb*.

Third: An examination of the transmission of the third *ḥadīth* (B3) narrated by Abū Hurayrah

The narrations reported by Abū Hurayrah can hardly be accepted in this context owing to the fact that they were reported on the authority of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd.



As can be seen from the above, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān's narrations are widely criticized by the specialists.[139] Al-Dhahabī goes so far as to rule that Abū Hurayrah's narration which is reported by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān is *ḥadīthun munkar* (a *ḥadīth* narrated by only one discredited narrator.)[140] This opinion was further supported by Abū Hurayrah himself who said, "There is none among the Companions of the Prophet who has narrated more *ḥadīths*

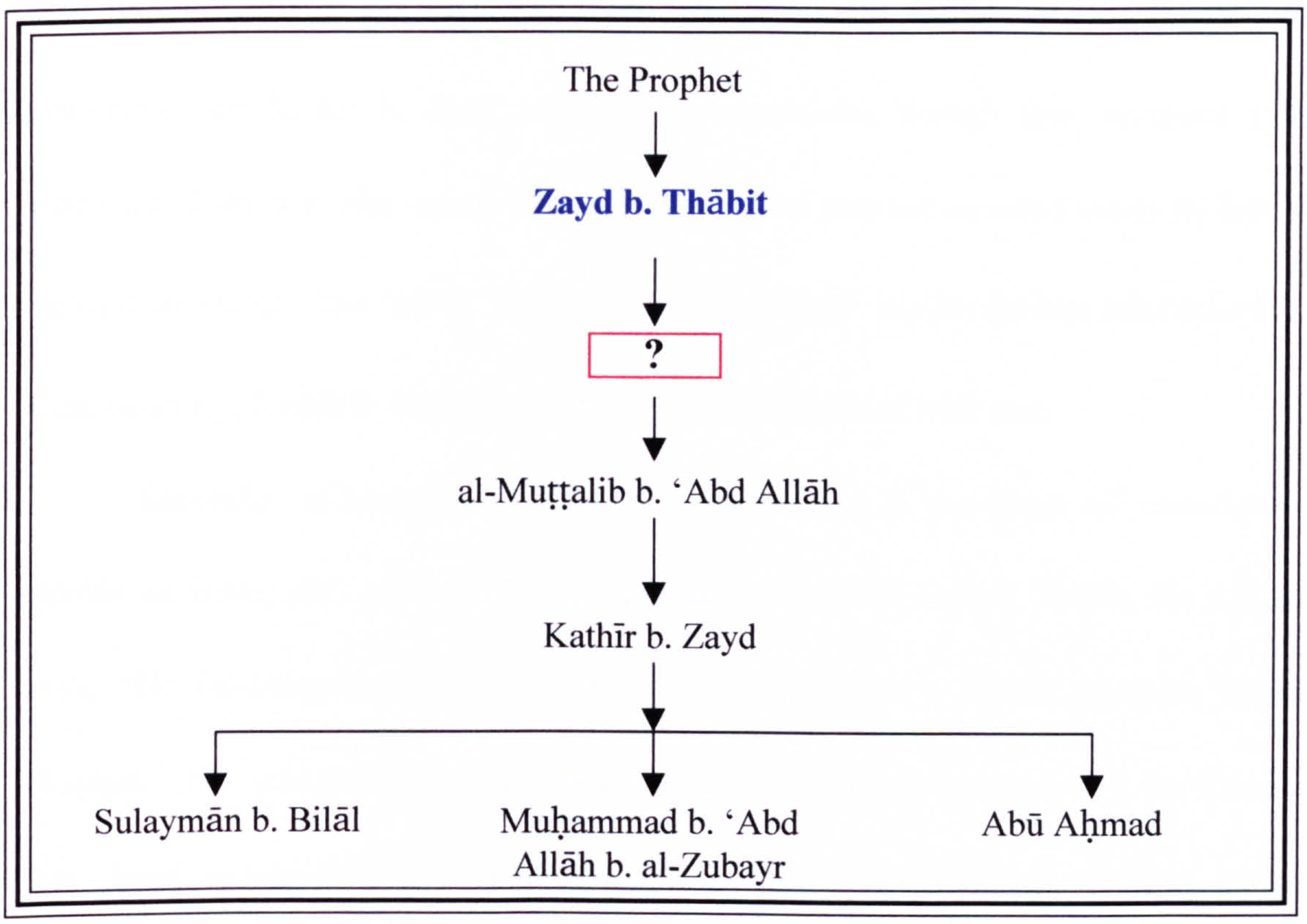
---

[134] *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, p. 12.
[135] *Taqyīd*, p. 34.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid., p. 33.
[139] See pp. 99-100.
[140] *Mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 565, no. 4868.

than I except 'Abd- Allāh Ibn 'Amr Ibn Al-'Āṣ, who used to write them down while I never did."[141] In addition, it was Abū Hurayrah who reported the *ḥadīths* involving the case of Abū Shāh who asked the Prophet to write down his *ḥadīths* for him; the Prophet accepted Abū Shāh's request and asked someone to write them down for him.[142]

Fourth: An examination of the transmission of the fourth *ḥadīth* (B4) narrated by Zayd b. Thābit

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī reports the *ḥadīth* narrated by Zayd b. Thābit on the authority of three transmitters, all of them on the authority of Kathīr b. Zayd on the authority of al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanṭab on the authority of Zayd b. Thābit.[143]



141 Bukharī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 39, ḥ. no. 113.
142 See above, p. 88.
143 *Taqyīd*, p. 35.

By examining this chain of transmission it becomes clear that:

Firstly, the critics of *Ḥadīth* differ in their appraisal of the credibility of Kathīr b. Zayd- a section accredit him, while others do not. For instance, al-Nasā'ī in his book ***al-Ḍu'afā' wa al-matrūkīn*** describes Kathīr b. Zayd as weak (*ḍa'īf*)[144]. Al-Dhahabī, in his famous book, ***Mīzān al-i'tidāl***, mentions various critical assessments of Kathīr saying, "Abū Zur'ah said, 'He (Kathīr) is always truthful but is tenuous in respect of the *Ḥadīth* (*ṣadūqun fīhi līn*).' Al-Nasā'ī said, 'He (Kathīr) is *ḍa'īf*.' Ibn al-Dawraqī quotes Yaḥyā who said, 'There is no harm in him (*laysa bihi ba's*).' Ibn al-Madīnī said, 'He is a good man but not strong (*ṣāliḥun wa laysa bi-al-qawī*),' which is not very high praise. Yaḥyā, on the authority of Ibn Abī Maryam said, 'He is reliable (*thiqah*).' Ibn 'Adī said, 'I do not see much harm in his narrations (*lam ara bi-ḥadīthi Kathīr ba's*).'"[145] Ibn Ḥibbān comments on Kathīr b. Zayd saying, "His narrations, though few, involved a lot of mistakes. I do not like using his narrations when they are reported solely by him (*kāna kathīra al-khaṭa' 'ala qillati riwāyatihi, lā yu'jibunī al-iḥtijāju bihi idhā infarad*)."[146] Consequently, Kathīr b. Zayd's narrations should be treated with care.

Secondly, al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥanṭab, a transmitter in the chain of narration of the *ḥadīth* at issue, did not actually hear any narrations from Zayd b. Thābit. Ibn Abī Ḥātim says, "He (al-Muṭṭalib) did not hear from Jābir, or Zayd b. Thābit, nor from 'Umrān b. Ḥuṣayn. He was also not contemporary to any Companion except Sahl b. Sa'd and those who lived as long as him."[147] Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī says, "The majority of his narrations

---

[144] Nasā'ī *Ḍ*, P. 302.
[145] *Mīzān*, vol. 3, pp. 404-5, no. 6938.
[146] *Majrūḥīn*, vol. 2, p. 222.
[147] *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, p. 179.

are *marāsīl*."[148] Accordingly, the chain of transmission or *isnād* of the *ḥadīth* at issue is *munqaṭi'* and as such appears to be discreditable.

Having examined the chains of transmission of the prohibiting *ḥadīths*, it is clear that they are not authentic, with the exception of the two narrations from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (B1&B2). It is noteworthy that the specialists in the science of *Ḥadīth* differed on the first of these two narrations: Some of them trace it back to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī; and others to the Prophet himself.

Conclusion of the examination of both transmissions

After the examination of the transmission of both groups, it can be seen that there are various authentic *ḥadīths* that allow their being recorded in written form, while there are nevertheless two authentic *ḥadīths* which prohibit this.

An analysis of the texts of the permitting and prohibiting *ḥadīths*

First of all, we should note that the narration of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr does not imply his knowledge of any Prophetic prohibition in this respect, if this had been the case he would not have written anything down. On one occasion, the Quraysh rebuked him for writing, and accordingly he abstained, while it is more than likely that he would have been strict in obedience to any Prophetic prohibition in this regard, had there been one. The Quraysh are not reported to have had any knowledge of a prohibition, and had they known of one, they would simply have informed him of it, and would not have sought to justify their position by stating that the Prophet is, '...a human being who speaks in anger and in pleasure.' Furthermore, the Prophet, when 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ told him of the

[148] Ibid.

Quraysh's opinion, instructed him to write, without prompting any inquiry from the Companions regarding this, contrary to their behaviour when they had been faced with other sudden changes in the past. Moreover, the *ṣaḥīfah* of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr gained fame amongst the Companions without at any point being challenged or rebuked. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr's regard for his *ṣaḥīfah* is reflected in his naming it the veracious (*al-ṣādiqah*).[149]

Secondly, when the Prophet told his Companions to write for Abū Shāh, he said, "Write for Abū Shāh (*uktubū li-abī Shāh*)," putting his command in the plural form, thus opening the way for any number of those present to record the *ḥadīths* for Abū Shāh. This command was issued among a vast gathering of Muslims at the time of the conquest of Makkah, yet none of those present enquired about the reason for this order coming after a previous prohibition, thus putting in question the assertion that one actually existed at all.

These instances demonstrate that knowledge of the permissibility of writing down the Prophetic *ḥadīths* was wide-spread among the Companions during the life-time of the Prophet. The following story of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb provides additional proof. 'Urwah reports that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wanted to write down the *sunan* (the sayings and actions of the Prophet). He consulted the Companions who gave him their approval. He then made *istikhārah*,[150] and continued this for a whole month, until one day he told the Companions, "I wanted to write down the *sunan* but I remembered the nations before you who wrote some books and devoted their time and lives to them and neglected the Divine Revelation sent to them by God, I am not going to mix anything with the Book of Allāh."[151] On

---

[149] *Taqyīd*, pp. 84-5.
[150] 'Asking favors.' Seeking Allāh to guide one to the right concerning an important endeavour or decision. A two *rak'ah* prayer is offered for this purpose and certain invocations are read after that.
[151] *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 64.

assumption that this story is authentic, it supports the validity of the assertion that the permissibility of writing down Prophetic *ḥadīths* was known widely among the Companions. Otherwise, it is unlikely that 'Umar would have consulted them in the first instance, and they would certainly not have given him their consent. Also, we should notice that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb only intended to compile the *sunan*, as had already been done with the Qur'ān. However, he retracted his intention, owing not to a Prophetic prohibition, but rather due to personal misgivings.

Thirdly, notwithstanding the above, there remains the important issue of whether it is possible to reconcile the two narrations of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī with the previous evidence which affirms the validity of writing down the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. The available evidence indicates that these two *ḥadīths* were among the earliest *ḥadīths*, including the fact that Abū Sa'īd was resident in al-Madīnah from the time of the Prophet's migration.[152] On the other hand the authentic permitting *ḥadīths* narrated by Abū Hurayrah and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ were late *ḥadīths*. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr embraced Islam late and migrated to al-Madīnah in the seventh year of *hijrah*,[153] while Abū Hurayrah embraced Islam between the events of *al-Ḥudaybiyah* (the *al-Ḥudaybiyah*[154] covenant was concluded at the end of the sixth year of *hijrah*)[155] and the conquest of *Khaybar*[156] at the beginning of the seventh year.[157] With regards to Abū

[152] *Iṣābah*, vol. 2, p. 32, no. 3196.
[153] *Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 60.
[154] A well-known open space located 10 miles from Makkah on the way to Jeddah, that is famous for being the place where a truce was reached between the Muslims and the pagan Quraysh.
[155] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 308.
[156] For the definition of *Khaybar*, see page 72, footnote no. 10.
[157] *Iṣābah*, vol. 4, p. 203; vol. 3, 328.

Shāh's story, the event described took place during the conquest of Makkah which happened in the seventh month of the eighth year of *hijrah.*[158]

It would seem that the Prophetic prohibition was made owing to the following considerations:

First: In order that the first Companions should not be preoccupied with anything besides the Holy Qur'ān, and in avoidance of the *sunan* taking a position equal to that of the Holy Qur'ān: This possibility was the main reason that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb refrained from compiling the *sunan* of the Prophet,[159] and it was for the same reason that 'Urwah erased all that he had written, though later he regretted it.[160]

Second: Al-Bukhārī and various other leading traditionists report the statement of Zayd b. Thābit who was trusted by Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq with the task of collecting the Holy Qur'ān. Zayd was required to exert great efforts in this respect as the Qur'ān was written on primitive materials such as *'usub, likhāf,*[161] *riqā', aktāf,*[162] *niḥāf*[163] and others. These materials were evidently the only ones available for the recording of Prophetic *ḥadīths* and this may have lead to some confusion, resulting in a prohibition against writing *ḥadīths* at that time.

However, this prohibition was not in effect for a lengthy period, and before long they were allowed to write down texts besides the Holy Qur'ān, i.e. *al-tashahhud* (an

[158] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 389.
[159] See above, p. 105.
[160] Rāmhurmuzī, p. 376, no. 353; *Taqyīd*, p. 60, *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 75.
[161] Bukhārī, k. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 4986.
[162] Ibid., k. *al-Tafsīr*, ṣ. 9, bā. no. 20, ḥ. no. 4679.
[163] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Tafsīr*, ṣ. 9, no. 3103.

invocation which is recited in the ritual prayers). After that, recording of Prophetic *ḥadīths* was tacitly and generally permitted, inasmuch as Abū Saʿīd himself, who reported the first Prophetic ban on writing, relates that, "We were not previously allowed to write anything except the Qur'ān and *tashahhud*."[164] Furthermore, it is unrealistic to suppose that the Prophet should issue an absolute ban on writing down his *ḥadīths* because encouragement of the pursuit of knowledge by all possible means is central to the Islamic ethos;[165] indeed, writing is recommended in certain areas, such as the documenting of debts.[166] Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī argues that since debts are to be documented by being written down, lest they should be disputed or forgotten, the recording of *ḥadīths* becomes more urgent still, since they are generally more susceptible to the vicissitudes of memory.[167] Also, a permanent Prophetic ban on the recording of his *ḥadīths* would be grossly impractical since many of them explain and elucidate Qur'anic texts, rules and principles that were, and remain, utterly necessary to the lives of the Muslims. Moreover, the Prophet himself instructed his Companions, when he was close to death, to bring him a *kitāb* (something to write on), so that he might dictate to them.[168] In fact, there is much evidence of the Prophet's dictation: Umm Salamah, the Prophet's wife, said, "The Prophet called for a skin to be brought, and

---

[164] Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 3648; *Taqyīd*, p. 93.
[165] Q. 58:11 & 9:122.
[166] Q. 2:282:

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِذَا تَدَايَنْتُمْ بِدَيْنٍ إِلَى أَجَلٍ مُسَمًّى فَاكْتُبُوهُ وَلْيَكْتُبْ بَيْنَكُمْ كَاتِبٌ بِالْعَدْلِ وَلَا يَأْبَ كَاتِبٌ أَنْ يَكْتُبَ كَمَا عَلَّمَهُ اللَّهُ فَلْيَكْتُبْ وَلْيُمْلِلِ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِ الْحَقُّ
وَلْيَتَّقِ اللَّهَ رَبَّهُ وَلَا يَبْخَسْ مِنْهُ شَيْئًا فَإِنْ كَانَ الَّذِي عَلَيْهِ الْحَقُّ سَفِيهًا أَوْ ضَعِيفًا أَوْ لَا يَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ يُمِلَّ هُوَ فَلْيُمْلِلْ وَلِيُّهُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَاسْتَشْهِدُوا شَهِيدَيْنِ مِنْ رِجَالِكُمْ فَإِنْ
لَمْ يَكُونَا رَجُلَيْنِ فَرَجُلٌ وَامْرَأَتَانِ مِمَّنْ تَرْضَوْنَ مِنَ الشُّهَدَاءِ أَنْ تَضِلَّ إِحْدَاهُمَا فَتُذَكِّرَ إِحْدَاهُمَا الْأُخْرَى وَلَا يَأْبَ الشُّهَدَاءُ إِذَا مَا دُعُوا وَلَا تَسْأَمُوا أَنْ تَكْتُبُوهُ
صَغِيرًا أَوْ كَبِيرًا إِلَى أَجَلِهِ ذَلِكُمْ أَقْسَطُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَأَقْوَمُ لِلشَّهَادَةِ وَأَدْنَى أَلَّا تَرْتَابُوا إِلَّا أَنْ تَكُونَ تِجَارَةً حَاضِرَةً تُدِيرُونَهَا بَيْنَكُمْ فَلَيْسَ عَلَيْكُمْ جُنَاحٌ أَلَّا تَكْتُبُوهَا
وَأَشْهِدُوا إِذَا تَبَايَعْتُمْ وَلَا يُضَارَّ كَاتِبٌ وَلَا شَهِيدٌ وَإِنْ تَفْعَلُوا فَإِنَّهُ فُسُوقٌ بِكُمْ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَيُعَلِّمُكُمُ اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ﴾

[167] *Taqyīd*, p. 71.

ʿAlī was sitting with him. The Prophet carried on dictating to ʿAlī until the face and back of the skin were filled."[169] Consequently, the practice of writing *ḥadīths* became widespread. Even Goldziher says, "Many a companion of the Prophet is likely to have carried his *ṣaḥīfah* with him and used it to dispense instruction and edification to his circle."[170]

The practical stance of the Companions regarding the writing down of the *Ḥadīth*

The practical stance of the Companions gives one the impression that the writing down of *ḥadīths* was a very common and valid practice, inasmuch as even those who narrated the prohibition, if indeed that is verified, practiced the writing down of *ḥadīths* themselves. It also gives us some indication as to what action in actual fact resulted from the previous debate.

First: The stance of those who narrated the Prophet's permission to write:

1. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ:

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ is understood to have written down a great many *ḥadīths*[171] and was proud of his *ṣaḥīfah.*[172] This *ṣaḥīfah* was so famous that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī allocated a whole section of his book to its discussion,[173] and Abū Hurayrah

---

[168] Bukhārī, k. *al-ʿIlm*, bā. no. 39, ḥ. no. 114.
[169] *Imlāʾ*, p. 12.
[170] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 22.
[171] See above, p. 77.
[172] *Taqyīd*, pp. 84-5.
[173] Ibid.

also attested to the existence of this document.[174] Moreover, it was reported that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ would dictate *ḥadīths* to his disciples. Abū Sabrah said, "'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād used to ask about the *ḥawḍ* (basin) of the Prophet Muḥammad and rejected its existence, after asking Abū Barzah, al-Barā' b. 'Āzib and 'Ā'idh b. 'Amr and another man." As a result, Abū Sabrah said [to 'Ubayd Allāh], "I am going to relate to you an account (*ḥadīth*) which will remove your doubts. Your father [Ziyād] once sent some money with me to Mu'āwiyah. I met 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr who told me about what he had heard from the Prophet. He dictated it to me and I wrote it down. I did not add or remove a letter ..."[175]

2. Anas b. Mālik:

Al-Naḍr and Mūsā, the sons of Anas b. Mālik, narrate that their father told them to learn and write down the sayings (*ḥadīths*) and actions (*sunan*) of the Prophet.[176] He said, "We did not appreciate the 'knowledge' of those who did not write their knowledge down."[177] Anas's disciples also used to take dictation from him. Ibn Sinān said, "I came in a delegation from Anbār to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in order to complain against his governor Ibn al-Rufayl. I entered his *dīwān*,[178] where I saw an old man amongst a group taking dictation from him. I enquired and I was told that he was Anas b. Mālik."[179]

3. Rāfi' b. Khadīj:

---

[174] See above, p. 77.
[175] *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, pp. 162-3, Aḥmad Shākir has exhaustively examined it, and further, proved its authenticity beyond reasonable doubt in ***al-Musnad*** (*Musnad* 2), vol. 10, pp. 20-3.
[176] *Taqyīd*, p. 96. See also Muslim, k. *al-Īmān*, ḥ. no. 54.
[177] *Taqyīd*, p. 96.
[178] A seated teaching area.
[179] Baghdād, vol. 8, p. 259.

Rāfi' mentions that he had written *ḥadīths* in his possession, however, he did not identify the writer of these *ḥadīths*. Nāfi' b. Jubayr reported that Marwān b. al-Ḥakam addressed people and made mention of Makkah and its inhabitants and its sacredness, while making no mention of Madīnah, its inhabitants and its sacredness. Rāfi' b. Khadīj called to him and said, "What is this, that I hear you making mention of Makkah and its inhabitants and its sacredness, but you did not make mention of Madīnah and its inhabitants and its sacredness, when the Apostle of Allāh also declared sacred [the area] between its two lava lands? And we have a record of this with us written on *khawlānī* leather. If you like, I can read it out to you." Thereupon Marwān became silent, and then said, "I too have heard some part of it."[180]

4. Abū Hurayrah:

Some reports say that Abū Hurayrah had a compilation of *ḥadīths*. Al-Fuḍayl b. Ḥasan b. 'Amr b. Umayyah on the authority of his father narrates that his father mentioned a *ḥadīths* in the presence of Abū Hurayrah, who denied it. The narrator told Abū Hurayrah that he had in fact heard it from him. On hearing this, Abū Hurayrah asked him to come to his house where he kept his collection of written *ḥadīths*: They checked this collection where they found the *ḥadīth* at issue.[181] Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal propounds a good argument for the assertion that the disciples of Abū Hurayrah contributed to writing his collections of *ḥadīths*.[182]

Second: The Stance of those who narrated the prohibiting *ḥadīths*:

---

[180] Muslim, k. *al-Ḥajj*, ḥ. no. 457; *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, p. 141; *Taqyīd*, pp. 71-2.

[181] *Bayān*, vol. 1, p. 74.

[182] *'Ilal*, vol. 1, p. 43. Ibn Ḥajar mentioned another argument in his book *Fatḥ*, vol. 1, p. 207. See also *Niẓām*, vol. 2, p. 246.

1. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī:

It is reported that he recorded various things besides the Holy Qur'ān. Abū al-Mutawkkil reports that Abū Sa'īd said, "We did not write anything except the Qur'ān and *al-tashahhud*."[183] Al-Khaṭīb says that there is no difference between *al-tashahhud* and other knowledge, which therefore, by implication, broadens the scope of permissible writing to include the *Ḥadīth*.[184] It seems that Abū Sa'īd also wrote a Prophetic *ḥadīth* and sent it to Ibn 'Abbās. Muslim reports in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* that Abū Naḍrah narrated, "I asked Ibn 'Abbās about gold and silver. He asked, 'Is it hand to hand exchange?' I said, 'Yes,' whereupon he said, 'There is no harm in it.' I informed Abū Sa'īd about it, telling him that I had asked Ibn 'Abbās about it, and that he said, 'Is it hand to hand exchange?' and that I had said, 'Yes,' whereupon he had said, 'There is no harm in it.' Abū Sa'īd then asked, 'Has he said that? I will soon write to him, and he will not give you this *fatwā* (religious verdict).'"[185] It would appear that, had Abū Sa'īd written to him, he would have quoted some of the Prophetic *ḥadīths* regarding this matter in his support.

2. Abū Hurayrah:

His stance has been previously discussed.[186]

3. Zayd b. Thābit:

He was the first Companion to write a book concerning the law of inheritance (*farā'iḍ*). Al-Zuhrī said, "Had Zayd b. Thābit not written the book on the law of

[183] Dāwūd, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 3648; *Taqyīd*, p. 93.
[184] *Taqyīd*, p. 93.
[185] Muslim, k. *al-Musāqāh*, ḥ. no. 99.
[186] See above, p. 111.

inheritance (*al-farā'iḍ*), people would have lost knowledge of it."[187] The introduction of this book is still preserved in al-Ṭabarānī's ***al-Mu'jam al-kabīr***.[188] This book was also narrated by his son, Khārijah b. Zayd b. Thābit, and is also one of Ibn Khayr al-Ishbilī's narrations.[189] Zayd also wrote about the inheritance of a grandfather in accord with the instructions of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,[190] and it seems that Zayd allowed his disciples to write down his narration. Kathīr b. Aflaḥ said that, "We used to write at Zayd b. Thābit's residence,"[191] indicating that Zayd did not object to this practice.

Such cases, especially those involving narrators of the prohibition, show that the practice of writing *ḥadīths* was widely accepted and practiced by Companions, all of which supports the case for its permissibility.

It can thus be concluded that the Prophet's instructions in this regard did play a significant role in the preservation of his *Ḥadīth*.

---

[187] *Nubalā'*, vol. 2, p. 436.
[188] Ṭabarānī *MK*, vol. 5, p. 134, no. 4860.
[189] Ishbīlī, p. 263.
[190] Dāraquṭnī, k. *al-Frā'ḍ*, vol. 4, p. 46, ḥ. no. 4095.
[191] *Taqyīd*, p. 102.

THE PROPHET'S LETTERS THAT WERE WRITTEN TO ASSIST IN ESTABLISHING THE *SUNNAH* IN OTHER REGIONS



SECTION 5

THE PROPHET'S LETTERS THAT WERE WRITTEN TO ASSIST IN ESTABLISHING THE *SUNNAH* IN OTHER REGIONS

In the previous section, we discussed the Prophet's permission, and indeed instruction, to his Companions to write down his *ḥadīths*. We concluded by clarifying the impact of this on the Companions and its result, which was the widespread practice of recording *ḥadīths*, to the extent that some of them compiled books. In this section we shall discuss another approach that was adopted by the Prophet in order to spread and preserve his *Sunnah*, namely the dispatching of letters to various regions outside of Madīnah. These letters contain numerous explanations of the rulings of the Prophetic *Sunnah* regarding, for example, ritual questions, business transactions, legal penalties, the propagation of Islam, etc.

The Prophet's letters to various leaders and communities are generally considered to be an important aspect of the propagation and establishment of the Prophet's *Sunnah* outside Madīnah. The principal books, including books of *Sīrah* and Islamic history contain many details of the Prophet's letters, including, for instance, Ibn Isḥāq's account (d. 151/768), in which he mentions many letters.[192] Al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām (d. 224/838) does the same in his book ***al-Amwāl***;[193] Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/844) reports more than a hundred letters that were directed from the Prophet to various kings, leaders and communities,[194] as does al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922) who mentions various letters in his book ***Tārīkh al-umam wa***

[192] Hishām 1, vol. 2, pp. 525, 542-3, 589-90, 593-6 & 606-8.
[193] *Amwāl*, pp. 28-32, 35, 39, 244-64 & 447-50.
[194] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, pp. 258-91.

al-mulūk[195] Beside these, we find other scholars[196] writing on the same topic. Furthermore, principal books of *Ḥadīth* are unanimous in mentioning the Prophet's letters, for instance ***Musnad Aḥmad,***[197] ***Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,***[198] ***Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,***[199] ***Sunan Abī Dāwūd,***[200] ***Sunan al-Nasā'ī,***[201] ***Sunan al-Tirmidhī,***[202] ***Sunan Ibn Mājah,***[203] etc. Yet the attention paid to the Prophet's letters goes back to the period of the Companions and their followers. 'Amr Ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī d. 50/670[204] compiled some of the Prophet's letters in a book.[205] Ibn 'Abbās d. 68/687 collected some copies of the Prophet's letters along with their replies.[206] 'Urwah Ibn al-Zubayr d. 94/712 attempted to collect the Prophet's letters, some of which are mentioned in Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām's book.[207] Marsden Jones states, "We do not have evidence that 'Urwah wrote a special book on the Prophet's biography. However the numerous citations from 'Urwah in the books of Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī definitely prove that he was the first one to record the Prophet's biography in the form in which it was later known."[208] Finally, Ibn Isḥāq said, "Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī told me that he found a book in which was a memorandum containing the names of those

---

195 Ṭabarī, vol. 3, pp. 237-50.
196 Such as al-Ya'qūbī (d. 282/895) in his book ***al-Tārīkh***; Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372) in his book ***al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah***; Muḥammad al-Anṣārī (d. 783/1381) in his book ***al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍī***; al-Qalqshandī (d. 821/1418) in his book ***Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fi ṣinā'at al-inshā'***; al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441) in his book ***Imtā' al-asmā'***; Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) in his book ***I'lām al-sā'ilīn 'an kutub sayyd al-mursalīn.***
197 *Musnad* 1, vol. 1, p. 262 & vol. 4, pp. 74-5.
198 K. *Bad' al-waḥī,* bā. no. 6; k. *al-Maghāzī,* bā. no. 82; k. *al-Tafsīr*, s. *al-'Imraān*, bā. no. 4.
199 K. *al-Jihād wa al-siyar*, bā. no. 26, ḥ. no. 74, bā. no. 27, ḥ. no. 75; k. *al-Libās wa al-zīnah*, bā. no. 13, ḥ. no. 56-8.
200 K. *al-khātam*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 4214-5.
201 K. *al-Zīnah*, bā. no. 47, ḥ. no. 5201.
202 K. *al-Isti'dhān*, bā. no. 23-5, ḥ. no. 2716-8.
203 K. *al-Zakāh*, bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 1798; bā. no. 11, ḥ. no. 1801; bā. no. 13, ḥ. no. 1805.
204 *Usd*, vol. 3, p. 711-2.
205 This book was narrated by his son and printed with Ibn Ṭūlūn's book ***I'lām al-sā'ilīn 'an kutub sayyid al-mursalīn***, PP. 143-54.
206 Zayla'ī, vol. 4, p. 420.
207 *Amwāl*, p. 246-54 & 257-60.
208 Wāqidī, vol. 1, p. 21.

whom the Apostle sent to the countries and kings of the Arabs and non Arabs and what he said to his Companions when he sent them. I sent it to Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī [51-124 AH] and he recognized it."[209]

On further scrutiny of the texts of the letters mentioned in the books just cited, we find them serving a mixture of purposes including: calling to Islam; proposing a covenant; explaining the creed of Islam and the *Sunnah*, etc. The main reason for the gathering of the letters of the Prophet by the above mentioned scholars was simply that frequently these letters were official documents written at the Prophet's behest.

Therefore, this section will involve a search of the relevant Islamic literature for the letters which illustrate the extent of the Prophet's endeavours in the preservation of his *Sunnah* by its propagation and establishment outside Madīnah, and their examination.

The letters related to this issue are too numerous to mention here. However, we can usefully confine ourselves to discussing a relevant cross-section of the Prophet's letters, which clarify for us his role and contribution in the preservation of his *Sunan*, as for example, is the case regarding his letters relating to *zakāh*.

The order to pay *zakāh* occurs in the Qur'ān in many different places,[210] though simply in the form of a general command. In other words, no specific instructions are given regarding the time of payment, the amount to be payed and the different types of *zakāh* such as gold, silver, crops and animals. There are other questions which one might

---

[209] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 607.
[210] See *Alfāẓ*, entry: (ز ك ر)

ask, but one can not find answers to them in the Qur'ān. Thus it was incumbent on the Prophet himself to illustrate *zakāh* in detail, not only in Madīnah, but by sending letters to other regions and countries outside al-Madīnah regarding this matter. The letters related to *zakāh* can be described into three types:

A. The letters the contents of which are known and are related to *zakāh,* as well as to other Islamic teachings such as the Creeds of Islam, *sunan*, etc.

B. The letters the contents of which are known and which are specifically related to *zakāh.*

C. The letters which are only briefly referred to and the contents of which are unknown to us.

Below is an alphabetical list of the names of the places and tribes to which the Prophet sent letters:

1. Bahrain.[211]
2. Dabā'. (located between Oman and Bahrain according to Ibn Sa'd's report.[212] However, today it is located on the coast of the united Arab emirates.[213]
3. Dūmat al-Jandal.[214]
4. Ḥaḍramawt.[215]
5. Ḥimyar. (to the kings of Ḥimyar).[216] Al-Bayhaqī narrated the same letter with some additional information.[217]
6. Al-Sīf and al-Sahl.[218]
7. Tribe of Banū Aslam.[219] (in al-Kūfah).[220]
8. Tribe of Bāhilah (in Bīshah).[221]
9. Tribe of Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b.[222]
10. Tribe of Banū al-Ḥurqah from Juhaynah.[223]
11. Tribe of Banū Judhām.[224]

---

[211] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 263, vol. 4, p. 360.
[212] Ibid., vol. 7, p. 101.
[213] *Wathā'iq*, p. 164.
[214] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, P. 335.
[215] Ibid., P. 287. See also *Miṣbāḥ*, P. 397.
[216] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 589.
[217] Bayhaqī, vol. 4, pp. 89-90.
[218] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 354.
[219] Ibid.
[220] See Ibid., vol. 4, p. 302; p. 309.
[221] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 284; *Miṣbāḥ*, p. 383.
[222] Hishām 1, vol. 2, pp. 594-6.
[223] Ibn sa'd, vol. 1, p. 271-2.

12. Tribe of Banū al-Jurmuz.[225]
13. Tribe of Banū Kalb.[226]
14. Tribe of Banū Madhḥij (in Kindah).[227]
15. Tribe of Banū Murād.[228]
16. Tribe of Banū Sa'd Hudhaym from Quḍā'ah.[229]
17. Tribe of Banū Sa'd Ibn Bakr.[230]
18. Tribe of Banū Zubayd.[231]
19. Yemen (to the Prophet's governors in Yemen).[232]

In addition to the above, there is an important letter the Prophet was planing to send to all of his governors before he died. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar said, "The Apostle of Allāh wrote a letter about *ṣadaqah* (*zakāh*) but it was not sent to his governors as he died before this was accomplished. He kept it in the sheath (*ghimd*) of his sword. So Abū Bakr acted upon it until his death, and then 'Umar acted upon it until he too died. It contained, … ."[233]

---

[224] Ibid., p. 270.
[225] Ibid., p. 271-2.
[226] Ibid., p. 335.
[227] Ibid., p. 327. See also Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 583; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 6, p. 68.
[228] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 327. See also Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 583.
[229] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 270.
[230] Dārimī, k. *al-Ṭahārah*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 656.
[231] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 327. See also Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 583.
[232] *Wathā'iq*, pp. 200-201. The author cites this letter from: ***Imtā' al-asmā'*** (manuscript), by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441), p. 1039 and ***al-Wathā'iq al-siyāsiyah al-yamaniyyah***, by al-Akwa' al-Ḥawālī, pp. 97-8.
[233] Dāwūd, k. *al-Zakāh*, bā. no. 4, ḥ. no. 1568; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Zakāh*, bā. no. 4, ḥ. no. 621; Ibn Mājah, k. *al-Zakāh*, bā. 7, ḥ. no. 1798, bā. 13, ḥ. no. 1805.

A table of a brief account of what is contained in the above letters:

1. *Zakāh* on grazing camels:

The *niṣāb*[234]	What is due	Glossary
0 – 4	0 ---	---
5 – 9	1 *shāh*	1 ewe
10 – 14	*shātān*	2 ewes
15 – 19	*thalāthu-shiyāh*	3 ewes
20 – 24	*arba'u-shiyāh*	4 ewes
25 – 35	1 *Ibnat-makhād* If there is not, then *Ibn-labūn*	a she-camel in its second year a male-camel in its third year
36 – 45	1 *Ibnat-labūn*	a she-camel in its third year.
46 – 60	1 *ḥiqah*	a she-camel in its fourth year.
61 – 75	1 *jadha'h*	a she-camel in its fifth year
76 – 90	2 *Ibnatā-labūn*	two she-camel in their third year
91 – 120	2 *ḥiqatān*	two she-camel in their fourth year
Any number above 120	1 *Ibnat-labūn* for every forty camels or *ḥiqah* for every fifty	

2. *Zakāh* on grazing sheep:

The *niṣāb*	What is due
0 – 39	0 ---
40 – 120	1 *shāh* (1 ewe)
121 – 200	*shātān* (2 ewes)
200 – 300	*thalāthu-shiyāh* (3 ewes)
Any number above 300	1 *shāh* for every one hundred

3. *Zakāh* for Cows:

The *niṣāb*	What is due	Glossary
On every 5 cows	1 *shāh*	ewe
30 – 39	1 *tabī'*	a cow in its second year
40	1 *musinah*	a cow in its third year
Any number above 40	1 *tabī'* for every forty	

4. The *zakāh* on agricultural produce:

A tenth is payable on produce watered by rains, springs or any other natural means, and a twentieth on produce watered by irrigation, if the total quantity is five *awsuq* (*wisq*

or *wasq*: camel-load[235]) or more. If it does not reach the amount of five camel-loads, no *zakāh* is due on it.

5. The *zakāh* on gold and silver coinage:

Zakāh is due on twenty *dīnārs* (of gold coin in weight), as it is due on five *awāq* (two hundred *dirhams* of silver in weight). When the former reaches twenty, half a *dīnār* is payable. When the latter reaches two hundred, five *dīnārs* are payable.

6. Other instructions given by the Prophet in his letters:

❄ *Zakāh* is the obligation of Allāh, which Allāh has imposed on the Muslims.

❄ *Al-ṣadaqah* (*zakāh*) is not lawful to be paid to Muḥammad and his relatives. However, it is lawful for the poor of Muslims and *Ibn al-sabīl* (a traveler whose money has run out).

❄ No *zakāh* is due on house goods.

❄ If any one wants to pay more than is stipulated, that is good for him.

❄ An old sheep, one which has a defect in the eye or is thin and male goats are not to be accepted as *zakāh* unless the collector wishes.

❄ Those animals which are in separate flocks are not to be brought together, and those animals which are in one flock are not to be separated out of fear of paying more *zakāh* on them.[236]

❄ Regarding property belonging to two partners, they can make claims for restitution from one another with equity.[237]

❄ *Zakāh* is to be collected from the place where the property is normally present.

---

234 The minimum quantity for the payment of *zakāh*.

235 Ibn Manẓūr, under the article (و س ق).

236 A man, for instance, has forty goats in one flock, and forty in another flock. Thus one goat is payable on each of these flocks. If when the collector comes, he combines both the flocks, and therefore pays only one goat, this would be deception and is, therefore, forbidden. This is an example of combination. It is also prohibited to separate them when combined together in one flock. For instance; two partners have two hundred and one goats in one flock. Thus three goats are payable; when collection falls due, they separate the goats and thus each of them pays only one goat.

237 For instance; two partners have forty sheep in one flock, each owning twenty sheep, and the collector takes one sheep on the forty. The price of the one sheep is divided between them equally.

❄ There is to be no collecting of *zakāh* from a distance, nor must people who own property remove it far away.[238]

It should be noted that all of the above instructions and commands that are mentioned in the Prophet's letters, are considered to be *Sunnah*. Further, we should bear in mind that the above summary does not include all the details relating to *zakāh* because the letters that have been mentioned are intended to be no more than examples. It is also worth adding, that the above details do not contradict what is mentioned regarding *zakāh* in the principal books of *Ḥadīth*, such as ***Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Sunan Abī Dāwūd, Sunan al-Nasā'ī, Sunan al-Tirmidhī, Sunan Ibn Mājah, Sunan al-Dārimī, Muwaṭṭa' Mālik*** and ***Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.***

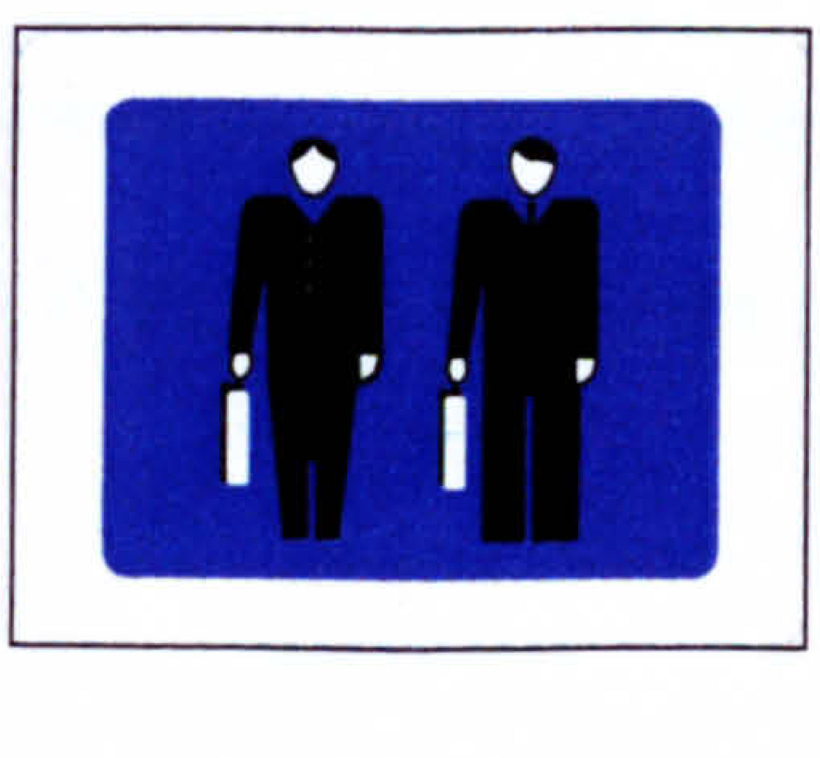
It can thus be concluded that these instructions regarding *zakāh* came to prevail and to be followed in a variety of regions. Furthermore, since these letters not only contain many of the *ḥadīths* pertaining to *zakāh*, but also include *ḥadīths* relating to many other aspects of Islamic teaching, including: fasting; pilgrimage; doctrine; business transactions; the question of penalties etc., a similar conclusion can be drawn regarding their prevalence.

In conclusion, the letters of the Prophet were clearly a factor which played a significant role in preserving the *Sunnah*, inasmuch as they enabled the people to attain a clear understanding of what is required in *zakāh* and to fulfill its obligations correctly.

---

[238] The original Arabic words are جَلَبَ 'to pull' and جَنَبَ 'to be at a distance'. This means that the collector of *zakāh* should not stay at a considerable distance from the animals, and, in addition, he must not make people bring their animals to him -he must go to the owners of the animals in order to collect *zakāh*. Similarly, the people must not remove their animals to a distance when they are aware that he is coming to collect *zakāh*. This *ḥadīth* in effect insists that the collector of *zakāh* should not put the people to hardship, nor should they hamper him; both parties should give due consideration to the other.

THE PROPHET'S DISPATCHING OF EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS FOR THE PROPAGATION OF HIS *SUNNAH* IN OTHER REGIONS



SECTION 6

THE PROPHET'S DISPATCHING OF EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS FOR THE PROPAGATION OF HIS *SUNNAH* IN OTHER REGIONS

In the previous section we mentioned examples of the Prophet's letters to neighbouring towns and regions that contain several examples of the teachings of the *Sunnah.* Those who bore these letters were not ignorant of the Prophetic teachings and instructions that they contained. Indeed, they were expected to possess sufficient knowledge to be able to clarify what was contained in these letters and to answer any questions that might be raised by those to whom the letters were sent. In this regard, they resembled the envoys and ambassadors of the present. This was particularly important due to the content of the letters being general and brief on occasion, and as such demanded explanation and clarification by the messengers, who were in fact teachers as well. This being the case some of the letters mentioned in the previous section can serve as useful examples in this section.

The Prophet was very keen to propagate the teachings of the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*, and sent a number of messengers to neighbouring towns and regions in order to instruct people regarding these key sources. Some of the Companions complained to him of the bad treatment which they suffered on arrival, but the Prophet insisted that this was not to deter them: 'Uqbah b. 'Āmir narrates that he said to the Prophet "You send us out and it happens that (on occasion) we have to stay with such people as do not entertain us. What do you think about this?" He said to us, "If you stay with some people and they entertain you as they should a guest, accept their hospitality, but if they do not, take the right of the

guest from them."[239] He also endeavoured to make this process successful insofar as he would order the people to whom his messengers were dispatched to obey them and offer their support. For instance, he wrote a letter to the people of Hajar which runs as follows, "... When my messengers reach you, you should obey them and offer them support in the matter (concerned) and the way of Allāh ... ."[240] He also recommended that his messengers should be treated well. Ibn Sa'd narrates that, in the letter that the Prophet wrote to the people of Yemen he not only informed them about the teachings of Islam and the *zakāh* of cattle and money, but also recommended them to treat his Companions and messengers well.[241]

This enthusiasm on the part of the Prophet for the dispatching of messengers did not begin at the time of his arrival in Madīnah, but was already in evidence during his time in Makkah. When Islam spread amongst the Anṣār households, they sent a man to the Prophet with a letter which read, "Send to us a man who can teach us about religion and how to recite the Qur'ān." The Prophet sent Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr.[242]

After his emigration to Madīnah, the Prophet continued to pursue his endeavour in an expanded form. He would send messengers to teach people in answer to the demands made by Muslims who had newly embraced Islam, and were thirsty to learn the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* and also purely of his own volition. The following cases are examples of this:

---

[239] Bukhārī, k. *al-Maẓālim wa al-qhaṣb*, bā. no. 18, ḥ. no. 2461; Muslim, k. *al-Luqaṭah*, ḥ. no. 17; Dāwūd, k. *al-Aṭ'imah,* bā. no. 5, ḥ. no. 3752; Ibn Mājah, k. *al-Adab*, bā. no. 5, ḥ. no. 3676; *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, p. 149.
[240] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 275-6.
[241] Ibid., p. 264.
[242] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 118.

1. A delegation from Banū Kilāb visited the Prophet and said, "Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān came to us with the Book of Allāh and your *Sunnah*, which you ordered him to do ... ."[243]

2. A group of people from 'Aḍal and al-Qārah arrived in Madīnah in the third year, after the battle of Uḥud, and said to the Prophet, "O Apostle of Allāh, we are a people who have embraced Islam, so send with us some of your Companions to teach us about our religion, teach us how to recite the Qur'ān and inform us about the teachings of Islam." The Prophet sent six of his Companions, namely: Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī, Khālid b. al-Bukayr al-Laythī, 'Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abī al-Aqlaḥ, Khubayb b. 'Adī, Zayd b. al-Dīthinnah b. Mu'āwiyah and 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāriq.[244] Although the word *Sunnah* is not actually used, the 'teachings of Islam' that are referred to obviously include the *Sunnah.*

3. It has been reported on the authority of Anas b. Mālik that some people came to the Apostle of Allāh and said to him, "Send with us some men who may teach us the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah.*" Accordingly, he sent seventy men from the Anṣār, who were called the Reciters and among them was my maternal uncle Ḥarām, with these people, but they fell upon all of them and killed them before they reached their destination.[245] In face of this tragedy Allāh's Apostle recited *qunūt* for a period of one month, invoking Allāh to punish them.[246]

4. Ibn Isḥāq says, "When the Prophet finished his *'Umrah*, he returned to Madīnah and made 'Attāb b. Usayd a deputy ruler of Makkah. He asked Mu'ādh b. Jabal to stay with

[243] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 300.
[244] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 169.
[245] Muslim, k. *al-Imārah*, ḥ. no. 147; *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, p. 270.
[246] Bukhārī, k. *al-Witr*, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 1002.

him (in order for him) to teach people about religion and to teach them the Qur'ān."[247] It is noteworthy that the teaching of the Qur'ān entails that the *Sunnah* also be taught, as was discussed in the first section of the first chapter.

5. Anas b. Mālik reported that a group of people of Yemen came to the Prophet and said, "Send with us a man who will teach us the *Sunnah* and Islam." Whereupon the Prophet caught hold of the hand of Abū 'Ubaydah and said, "He is the man of trust of this *ummah*."[248] At a later date, the Prophet sent Mu'ādh b. Jabal and Abū Mūsā to Yemen.[249] Some Companions of Mu'ādh b. Jabal said, "When the Apostle of Allāh intended to send Mu'ādh b. Jabal to Yemen, he asked, 'How will you judge when the occasion of deciding a case arises?' He replied, 'I shall judge in accordance with Allāh's book.' He asked '(What will you do) if you do not find guidance in Allāh's book?' He replied, '(I will act) in accordance with the *Sunnah* of the Apostle of Allāh.' He asked, '(What will you do) if you do not find guidance in the *Sunnah* of the Apostle of Allāh and in Allāh's book?' He replied, 'I shall do my best to form an opinion and spare no pains (*ajtahidu rayī wa lā ālū*).' ..."[250] Furthermore, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr states, as narrated by Ibn Isḥāq, "The Prophet sent Mu'ādh b. Jabal as a judge over al-Janad in Yemen, and to teach people the Qur'ān and the teachings of Islam ... ."[251] Al-Ṭabarī, on the authority of al-Laythī, states that, "The Prophet, after his arrival from *ḥajj*, divided Yemen into a number of regions and

[247] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 500.
[248] Muslim, k. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 2419.
[249] *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, p. 397.
[250] Dāwūd. k. *al-Aqḍīyah*, bā. no. 11, ḥ. no. 3592-93; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Aḥkām*, bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 1327-8; Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 20, ḥ. no. 168; *Musnad* 1, vol. 5, pp. 230, 236, 242.
[251] *Isti'āb*, vol. 3, pp. 336-7.

appointed rulers over it ..., Mu'ādh was the teacher who traveled around in the regions of Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt."[252]

6. The Prophet also sent al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to the people of Oman after they had embraced Islam with the task of instructing them in the teachings of Islam.[253]

Even the military commanders that were sent by the Prophet to propagate Islam and fight the enemy, were also ordered by the Prophet to teach people the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* at the same time and indeed, as a prelude to any engagement. (See above, p. 27, no. 2, under the title of 'The use of the word '*sunnah*' by the Prophet')

The teaching of the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* was not a task that was restricted to messengers dispatched by the Prophet: the delegations which came to Madīnah would usually stay there for some days, and as such had the chance to learn the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* from the Prophet and his Companions. Following this, they would return to teach their people what they had learnt, in addition to the Prophet's specific recommendations, as evidenced by the following:

1. Ḍimām b. Tha'labah returned to his people after he had been taught by the Prophet, and informed them of the orders and prohibitions of the Prophet.[254]

2. Salamah al-Jarmī embraced Islam and stayed with the Prophet for some time. When he went back to his people, he taught them what he had learnt from the Prophet. He said, "He orders you to do such and such a thing and prohibits you from doing such and such a thing.

---

[252] Ṭabarī, vol. 4, p. 38.
[253] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 351.
[254] Ibid., p. 299.

When the time for prayer comes up, one of you should call the *adhān*, and the one among you who knows the most Qur'ān should lead you in prayer."[255]

3. As mentioned above, the Prophet ordered the delegation of 'Abd al-Qays to do four things, and forbade them from four things, he further said, "Memorize them and tell them to the people whom you have left behind."[256]

4. Mālik b. al-Ḥuwayrith said, "I came to the Prophet with some men from my tribe and stayed with him for twenty nights. ... When he realised our longing for our families, he said to us, 'Go back and stay with your families and teach them ... .'"[257]

It is clear that these messengers who were sent by the Prophet played an important role in spreading and establishing his *Sunnah* far afield.

---

[255] Ibid., p. 336.
[256] See p. 75.
[257] Bukhārī, k. *al-Adhān*, bā. no. 17, ḥ. no. 628.

THE PROPHET'S TEACHING OF THE INCOMING DELEGATIONS AND THEIR INSTRUCTION IN THE *SUNNAH*

SECTION 7

THE PROPHET'S TEACHING OF THE INCOMING DELEGATIONS AND THEIR INSTRUCTION IN THE *SUNNAH*

In the section dealing with the Prophet's exhortation and instruction of his Companions to memorize *Ḥadīth*, we concluded that the delegation of 'Abd al-Qays embraced Islam early, and that the delegation came to Madīnah in the first years of the Prophet's residence there.[258] In addition, Ibn Isḥāq mentions the delegation of Muzaynah which arrived in the fifth year of *hijrah.*[259] However, not many delegations came to Madīnah until after the conquest of Makkah in 8 AH. 'Amr b. Salamah says, "... The Arabs [other than the Quraysh] delayed their conversion to Islam until the conquest of Makkah. They used to say, 'Leave him [i.e. Muhammad] and his people Quraysh. If he overpowers them, then he is a true Prophet.' So when Makkah was conquered, every tribe rushed to embrace Islam... ."[260] Ibn Isḥāq says, "The Arabs were waiting to see what the reaction of the Quraysh towards Islam would be and what the Prophet would do in response. This is because the tribe of Quraysh was the leading tribe and a source of guidance to the people, the custodians of the holy house of Allāh and the pure descendants of the Prophet Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm. The leaders of the Arabs did not deny these facts. Quraysh was also the tribe that declared war on the Prophet. When Makkah was conquered, the Quraysh surrendered and embraced Islam, and as a result, it was clear to the other Arabs that they had no power to fight the Prophet or to even harbour any hostility against him, thus, they entered into Islam, as Allāh said, 'in crowds,' from all directions.

---

[258] See above, pp. 75-6.
[259] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 291.
[260] Bukhārī, k. *al-Maghāzī*, bā. no. 53, ḥ. no. 4302; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 336. See also *Musnad* 1, vol. 5, p. 30.

Allāh said to his Apostle, 'When there comes the help of Allāh and victory, and you see that the people enter Allāh's religion in crowds, so glorify the praises of your Lord, and ask His forgiveness.'"[261] Indeed, 9 AH was subsequently named the 'year of the delegations.'[262]

It seems that the number of these delegations was very high as is clear from both the astonishment expressed by 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr and the suggestion made by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The former said to 'Ā'ishah, "... I am indeed astonished at your knowledge of medicine, how is this and where did you get it from? 'Ā'ishah tapped him on his shoulder and said, 'The Prophet used often to be ill in the final years of his life, and the Arab delegations used to come to him from all directions and prescribe treatments for his illnesses. It was I who would prepare these medicines for him.'"[263] The latter saw a silken cloak being sold at the gate of the Mosque and said to Allāh's Apostle, "I wish you would buy this to wear on Fridays and also on occasions of the arrivals of the delegations."[264]

Ibn Sa'd mentions in his *Ṭabaqāt* that more than seventy delegations came to the Prophet.[265] Ibn Hishām narrates in his *Sīrah*, on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/768), which precedes Ibn Sa'd's work, detailed accounts of a number of the delegations.[266]

---

[261] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 560, citing Q. 110.
[262] Ibid., pp. 559-60.
[263] *Musnad* 1, vol. 6, p. 67.
[264] Bukhārī, k. *al-Jumu'ah*, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 886, k. *al-Hibah*, bā. no. 27, ḥ. no. 2612, k. *al-Libās*, bā. no. 30, ḥ. no. 5841; Muslim, k. *al-libās wa al-Ziynah*, ḥ. no. 6; Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 219, ḥ. no. 1076, k. *al-Libās*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 4040.
[265] Vol. 1, pp. 291-359.
[266] Hishām 1, vol. 2, pp. 560-98.

The delegations would take residence in different locations in Madīnah.[267] The number of people in these delegations varied a great deal.[268] Furthermore, the delegations would stay in Madīnah for widely varying periods,[269] in order to learn from the Prophet and his Companions. Some of these delegations arrived in obedience to a command from the Prophet, as was the case with the delegation of 'Abd al-Qays[270] and also that of al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b.[271]

The delegations would occupy a considerable portion of the Prophet's time, to the point that he was, on occasion, delayed from performing the prayer at its appointed time. Umm Salamah said, "'O Allāh's Apostle, I have heard you forbidding the offering of these

---

[267] For instance: the delegation of Ghāmid resided at Baqī' al-Gharqad (Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 345); the delegation of Daws at Ḥarrat al-Dajjāj (Ibid., p. 353); and the Prophet received Banū Mālik, from the delegation of Thaqīf, in his tent (Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 326, ḥ. no. 1393; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 313; Ibn Mājah, k. *Iqāmat al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 178, ḥ. no. 1345). A number of delegations took residence in the houses of the Companions of the Prophet, which enabled these delegations to learn from the Companions, and this will be illustrated in greater detail later. Examples are plentiful: The delegation of Thaqīf took residence in the house of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah (Ibid.); the delegation of Bahrā' at the house of al-Miqdād b. 'Amr (Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 331); the delegation of Yalī at the house of Ruwayfi' b. Thābit (Ibid., p. 330); and the delegation of Najrān resided at the house of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (Ibid., p. 358). It seems that the house of Ramlah bt. al-Ḥārith was used as a residence on a permanent basis as is apparent from the considerable number of delegations that stayed there (Such as: Delegation of Muḥārib, Kilāb, 'Abd al-Qays, Taghlib, Ḥanīfah, Khawlān, 'Udhrah, Ghassān, al-Rahāwiīn, al-Nakha'. See Ibid., pp. 229, 300, 315, 316, 316, 324, 331, 338, 344, 346 respectively). It is also clear that this house was spacious enough to accommodate a large number of people: the last delegation to reside there numbered two hundred (Ibid., p. 346). It is not unlikely that there was a residence that was allocated exclusively to the delegations; indeed, as one narration indicates, the Prophet said to Thawbān, "Take this delegation to where the delegations reside" (Ibid., p. 332).

[268] Some of the delegations did not consist of more than ten individuals (Such as: Delegation of Banū Kilāb, Tha'labah, Banū 'Abs, Asad, Muḥārib, Ghāmid. See Ibid., pp. 304, 298, 295, 292, 299, 345 respectively. See also Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 229, ḥ. no. 1096); others numbered twenty (Such as: Delegation of Fizārah, Murah, Kilāb, Thaqīf, Kindah. See Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, pp. 297, 297, 300, 313, 328 respectively); while yet others exceeded one hundred men, as was the case with the delegation of Bajīlah which consisted of one hundred and fifty men (Ibid., p. 347); the delegation of al-Nakha', the last delegation to visit the Prophet, numbered two hundred men (Ibid., p. 346); the delegation of al-Aḥmasiyīn numbered two hundred and fifty (Ibid., p. 347); and the delegation of Muzaynah, the first delegation to come from Muḍar, which comprised four hundred persons (Ibid., p. 291).

[269] The delegation of Yalī had stayed three days and 'Abd al-Qays had stayed ten days. See Ibid., pp. 330, 315. Also, the delegation of Mālik Ibn al-Ḥuwayrith had stayed twenty days. See Bukhārī, k. *al-Adhān*, bā. no. 18, ḥ. no. 631.

[270] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 314.

[two *rak'ahs* after the *'aṣr* prayer] but I have seen you offering them.' When he had finished the prayer he said, '... The people of the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays came to me and made me busy and I could not offer the two *rak'ahs* after the *ẓuhr* prayer. These are for those [missed] ones.'"[272] 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar said, "Once Allāh's Apostle was busy (because of a coming delegation),[273] so that the [*'ishā'*] prayer was delayed so much that we slept and woke up and slept and woke up again."[274] Indeed, the delegations would perform various acts of worship with him and he would correct them if he saw that they made any mistake. 'Alī b. Shaybān, a member of one delegation, said, "... We took the oath of allegiance to him and observed prayer behind him and he glanced at a man from the corners of his eyes, who was not doing the prayer properly. When the Prophet finished his prayer, he said, 'O assembly of the Muslims, the prayer is not valid for those who do not straighten their back in *rukū' and sujūd*.'"[275] Moreover, various delegations performed the Friday prayer with the Prophet and listened to his *khuṭbah* and to the instructions and teachings it contained. Al-Ḥakam b. Ḥazm al-Kulafī said, "I came to the Apostle of Allāh in a delegation consisting of either seven or nine persons. ... We stayed there for several days and offered the Friday prayer along with the Apostle of Allāh ... ."[276] This learning sometimes simply consisted of asking questions of the Prophet, and by this they acquired a great deal of knowledge of the Qur'ān and the laws of Islam. Examples of this are: the

---

[271] Hishām 1, vol. 2, p. 593; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 339.
[272] Bukhārī, k. *al-Sahū*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 1233; k. *al-Maghāzī*, bā. no. 69, ḥ. no. 4370; Muslim, k. *Ṣalāht al-Musāfirīn*, ḥ. no. 297; Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 298, ḥ. no. 1273; Dārimī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 143, ḥ. no. 1436; *Musnad* 1, vol. 6, pp. 293 & 304.
[273] *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 126.
[274] Bukhārī, k. *Mawaqīt al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 24, ḥ. no. 570; Muslim, k. *al-Masājid wa mawāḍi' al-Ṣalāh*, ḥ. no. 221; Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṭahārah*, bā. no. 80, ḥ. no. 199.
[275] Ibn Mājah, k. *Iqāmat al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 16; *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, p. 23.
[276] Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 229, ḥ. no. 1096; *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, p. 212.

delegation of 'Udhrah that came to the Prophet to ask about various religious matters;[277] the delegation of Yalī that had specific queries regarding the entertainment of guests and various other matters;[278] the delegation of Bahrā' that learned *al-farā'iḍ*;[279] the delegation of al-Rahāwiyyin that learned the Qur'ān and *al-farā'iḍ*;[280] the delegation of Salāmān that questioned the Prophet regarding the prayer, the laws of Islam and *al-ruqyah*.[281] It is worth mentioning that despite the fact that the word *Sunnah* itself is not used in the above examples, an understanding of the Qur'ān and the laws of Islam of necessity requires the learning of the *Sunnah*, as has been discussed previously, and indeed there are many examples that illustrate the delegations learning of the Prophet's *Sunnah* in particular:

1. As noted earlier, the delegation of 'Abd al-Qays came to the Prophet and asked him about the permissibility of certain beverages, and was told what things were prohibited. The Prophet said, "I forbid you [to prepare *nabīdh*[282]] in *al-dubbā'*, and *al-ḥantam*, *al-naqīr* and *al-muqayyar* … ."[283]

2. The delegation of al-Ṣadaf asked the Prophet about the times of prayer and he informed them.[284]

3. 'Amr b. Salamah said, "When my father returned from the Prophet he said that, '... The Prophet commands you to do such-and-such a thing and prohibits you from doing such-and-such a thing, and orders you to offer such-and-such a prayer at such-and-such a time,

---

277 Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 331.
278 Ibid., p. 330.
279 Ibid., p. 331.
280 Ibid., p. 344.
281 Ibid., p. 332.
282 For the definition of *nabīdh*, see Chapter 1, footnote no. 30.
283 Muslim, k. *al-Ashribah*, ḥ. no. 33; Bukhārī, k. *al-Īmān*, bā. no. 40, ḥ. no. 53, k. *al-Manāqib*, bā. no. 5, ḥ. no. 3510.

and when the time for prayer becomes due, one of you should pronounce the *adhān*, and let the one amongst you who knows the most Qur'ān lead the prayer.'"[285]

4. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aws reports, on the authority of his grandfather Aws b. Ḥudhayfah, "We came to Allāh's Apostle as part of a delegation from Thaqīf and its allies [from the Quraysh] and were given a place to stay in the house of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, and Allāh's Apostle accommodated Banū Mālik in a tent of his. He used to come to us every night after *'ishā'* and would stand talking with us for so long that he would ease his weight by shifting from foot to foot. One night he came later than the time at which he usually came to us. At this I said, 'Allāh's Apostle, you have come late to us this night.' He said, 'I remembered the practice [of reciting] from the Qur'ān and I disliked to go out until I had performed this practice.' Aws said, 'I asked the Companions of Allāh's Apostle, 'How did you divide the Qur'ān into sections [to facilitate recitation]?' They said, 'Three *sūrahs*, then five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, and *ḥizb al-mufaṣṣal*.'[286]"[287]

5. Jābir reports that, "A person came from Jayshān, a town in Yemen, (in another report: Abū Wahb al-Jayshānī came with a group of his people,)[288] and asked Allāh's Apostle about a drink which was drunk in their land and which was prepared from millet and was called *mizr*. Allāh's Apostle asked whether it was intoxicating. He said, 'Yes.' Thereupon

---

[284] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 329.
[285] Ibid., p. 336. See also Bukhārī, k. *al-Maghāzī*, bā. no. 53, ḥ. no. 4302.
[286] The first *ḥizb* (section) consisted of three *sūrahs*: *al-Baqarah*, *al-'Imrān*, and *al-Nisā'*; the second *ḥizb* consisted of five *sūrahs*- *al-Mā'idah, al-An'ām, al-A'rāf, al-Anfāl* and *Barā'ah*; the third *ḥizb* consisted of seven *sūrahs*- *Yūnus, Hūd, Yūsuf, al-Ra'd, Ibrāhīm, al-Ḥijr* and *al-Naḥl*; the fourth *ḥizb* consisted of nine *sūrahs*- *Banī Isrā'īl, al-Kahf, Maryam, Ṭāhā, al-Anbiyā', al-Ḥajj, al- Mu'minūn, al-Nūr* and *al-Furqān*; the fifth *ḥizb* comprised eleven *sūrahs*- *al-Shu'arā', al-Naml, al-Qaṣaṣ, al-'Ankabūt, al-Rūm, Luqmān, al-Sajdah, al-Aḥzāb, Saba', Fāṭir* and *Yāsīn*; the sixth *ḥizb* comprised thirteen *sūrahs*- *al-Ṣāffāt, Ṣād, al-Zumar*, the seven *sūrahs* beginning with the letters *Ḥāmīm, Muḥammad, al-Fatḥ* and al-*Ḥujurāt*; and the seventh *ḥizb* contained *al-mufaṣṣal* i.e. from *sūrat Qāf* to the end."
[287] Ibn Mājah, k. *Iqāmat al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 178, ḥ. no. 1345; Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 326, ḥ. no. 1393; *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, pp. 9 & 343.

Allāh's Apostle said, 'Every intoxicant is forbidden. Verily Allāh, the Exalted and Majestic, made a covenant that he would make those who drank intoxicants drink *ṭīnat al-khabāl.*' They said, 'Allāh's Apostle, what is *ṭīnat al-khabāl*?' He said, 'It is the sweat or the discharge of the dwellers of Hell.'"[289]

6. The leader of the delegation of Bajīlah pledged allegiance (*bay'ah*) to the Prophet on a number of matters including the giving of advice to Muslims and obedience to the ruler, even if he was an Abyssinian slave.[290]

7. Laqīṭ b. Ṣabrah reports: "I was the leader of the delegation of Banū al-Muntafiq ... that came to the Apostle of Allāh. I said, 'O Apostle of Allāh, I have a wife who has something [wrong] in her tongue (i.e. she was insolent).' He said, 'Then divorce her.' I said, 'Apostle of Allāh, she has been my companion and I have children from her.' He said, 'Then ask her [to obey you]. If there is something good in her, she will do so, and do not beat your wife as you would beat your slave-girl.' I said, 'Apostle of Allāh, tell me about ablution.' He said, 'Perform ablution in full and make the fingers go through the beard and snuff up water well except when you are fasting.'"[291]

The task of teaching the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* to the delegations was not restricted to the Prophet alone, the Companions also used to contribute. For instance:

1. Ibn Sa'd narrates that, "The delegation of Khawlān came to the Prophet and asked him about various religious matters and he informed them [about them], he then asked some one to teach them the Qur'ān and *sunan* ... they accepted as prohibited what the Prophet

---

[288] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 359.
[289] Muslim, k. *al-Ashribah*, ḥ. no. 72; *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, pp. 360-61.
[290] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 347.
[291] Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṭahārah*, bā. no. 55, ḥ. no. 142; *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, p. 211.

prohibited them to do and they accepted as lawful what the Prophet made lawful to them."[292]

2. A man who came with the delegation of 'Abd al-Qays said, "The Prophet asked the delegation of 'Abd al-Qays, 'How did you find the generosity of your brothers [al-Anṣār] and their hospitality to you?' and they said, 'They are the best of brothers; they provided us with comfortable beds and good food, and they taught us the Book of our Lord and the *Sunnah* of our Prophet by day and night.' The Prophet was greatly pleased to hear this."[293]

The above indicates the vital role played by the Companions in the teaching of the *Sunnah*, which supported and complimented the work of the Prophet.

The Prophet himself, as we have seen, was very keen to teach the delegations. Indeed, on some occasions he asked them to make a presentation of what they had learned. A member of the delegation of 'Abd al-Qays said, "... Then he approached us one by one and asked us to relate what we had learnt and understood. Some of us had learnt *al-taḥiyyāt* and the Opening Chapter of the Qur'ān, and others had learnt one or two *sūrahs* and one or two practices of the *sunnah* (*al-sunatu aw al-sunatayn*) ... ."[294]

Moreover, the Prophet also drew their attention to the fact that they should, on their return, teach their people what they had learned from him and from his Companions. The evidence for this has been mentioned at the end of the section concerned with the Prophet's dispatching of the educational missions.[295]

[292] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 324.
[293] *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, pp. 206-7.
[294] Ibid.

In summary, we can say that all of the above evidence indicates that these delegations heard *ḥadīths* from the Prophet himself; learned from him and from his Companions; witnessed aspects of his conduct and example; and listened to his advice and instruction, all of which was integral to the preservation and propagation of his teachings.

It should be noted that all of the instructions and commands that were mentioned in the previous examples and which were learned by the delegations are considered to be *Sunnah.* The performance of these *sunan* that are related to the preparation of beverages, the times of prayer, who is most deserving of the *imāmah*, the *adhān*, the dividing of the Qur'ān into sections, the ruling on intoxicating beverages, the giving of advice to Muslims, the stipulation of obedience to a Muslim ruler, the prohibition on hitting one's wife, the performance of ablution (*wuḍū'*), etc., which are mentioned in the history of the delegations, are also narrated in detail by a number of Companions in the principal books of *Ḥadīth*, with each having been recorded under its relevant chapter heading.

[295] See above, pp. 126-7.

THE PROPHET'S TEACHING OF THE SUNNAH TO HIS COMPANIONS



SECTION 8

THE PROPHET'S TEACHING OF THE *SUNNAH* TO HIS COMPANIONS

The Prophet tells us that he was sent to mankind as a teacher, saying "Allāh did not send me to be harsh, but he has sent me to teach and make things easy."[296] Mu'āwiyah b. al-Ḥakam said about the Prophet, "...I declare that neither before him nor after him have I seen a teacher who gave better teaching than he ... ."[297] It is clear that the Prophet took up the task of teaching personally. In this section we will be concerned with his efforts as a teacher.

It is clear from the dialogue which took place in Abyssinia between the Negus and the Muslims who took refuge in his country, that the Prophet, since his first call to Islam, personally practised the teaching of people. When the Muslims knew that the Negus had sent for them in order to be informed about their religion, they consulted among themselves about what they should say to him. Finally they said, "By Allāh! We will say to him what the Prophet taught and ordered us, whatever the consequences." When the meeting took place, their representative, Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib said, "O king! We were plunged in the depth of ignorance and barbarism, we adored idols, we lived in unchastity, we ate dead carrion, we spoke abominations, we disregarded every feeling of humanity, and the duties of hospitality and neighbourhood were neglected, we knew no law but that of the strong, when Allāh raised among us a man, of whose birth, truthfulness, honesty, and purity we were aware, he called to the Oneness of Allāh and taught us not to associate anything with him. He forbade us the worship of idols, and he enjoined us to speak the

---

[296] *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, p. 328. See also Muslim, k. *al-Ṭalāq*, ḥ. no. 29.

truth, to be faithful to our trusts, to be merciful and to regard the rights of the neighbours and kith and kin, he forbade us to speak evil of women, or to eat the substance of orphans, he ordered us to flee from vices, and to abstain from evil, to offer prayers, to render alms, and to observe the fast. We believed in him, and accepted his teachings and his injunction to worship Allāh, and not to associate anything with Him, and we allow what He has allowed, and prohibit what He has prohibited. For this reason, our people have risen against us, and have persecuted us in order to make us forsake the worship of Allāh and return to the worship of idols and other abominations. ..."[298] His teaching, as can be seen from the above, contained a myriad aspects, both personal and social. This is further illustrated by the story of a man who said to Salmān al-Fārisī, with some sarcasm, "Your Prophet teaches you about everything, even about excrement." He replied, "Yes, he has forbidden us to face the *qiblah* at the time of easing or urinating, and cleansing with right hand, and cleansing with less than three stones, or cleansing with dung or bone."[299]

After the Prophet's migration to Madīnah he became ruler in both times of peace and of war, judge (*muftī*), deliverer of sermons, and the guide and teacher of his Companions. This gave him the power to convey his actions and sayings far afield and to legislate accordingly. He was very keen to instruct and narrate to his Companions, and did so at a wide variety of times and places. In this section we will restrict ourselves to mentioning only five situations in which this was practised by the Prophet:

A. His teaching in mosques,

B. His teaching in private houses,

C. His teaching in sermon form,

---

[297] Muslim, k. *al-Masājid*, ḥ. no. 33; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Sahū*, bā. no. 20, ḥ. no. 1218; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 23250; Dārimī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 177, ḥ. no. 1502.

[298] Ibn Hishām, vol. 1, pp. 335-6; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 1742.

D. His teaching by means of an announcer.

E. His teaching on an individual basis.

A. On his teaching in mosques:

The Prophet used to ask the Companions to assemble in their mosques so that he could address and teach them. Suhayl b. Dhirā' reported: "I heard Ma'n b. Yazīd or his father say that the Prophet said, 'You should gather in your mosques. When a group of people have gathered, they should let me know.' Ma'n (or his father) said, 'We were the first people to gather. We came to him, and he came walking with us ... then he faced us, commanded us, spoke to us and taught us.'"[300]

The Prophet, in fact spent a great deal of time sitting in the mosque with his Companions. Jabir says, "I saw the Prophet, more than a hundred times, sitting in the mosque with his Companions. ..."[301] Abū Hurayrah said, "The Apostle of Allāh used to sit with us in meetings (in the mosque) and narrate to us. When he stood up we also used to stand up until we saw him entering the house of one of his wives ... ."[302] Anas narrates, "Whenever he sat they used to sit in circles," and, "When they had prayed the dawn prayer they would sit in circles reciting the Qur'ān and learning the obligations and *Sunan*."[303] Once, "While Allāh's Apostle was sitting in the mosque with some people, three men arrived. Two of them came before Allāh's Apostle and the third one went away. The two persons kept on standing before Allāh's Apostle for a while and then one of them found a place in the circle and sat there, while the other sat behind the gathering. When Allāh's

---

[299] Muslim, k. *al-Ṭahārah*, ḥ. no. 57; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 23193, 23207, Dāwūd, bā. no. 4, ḥ. no. 7; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Ṭahārah*, bā. no. 12, ḥ. no. 16.
[300] *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, p. 470.
[301] Ibid., vol. 5, p. 91.
[302] Dāwūd, k. *al-Adab*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 4775; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Qasāmah*, bā. no. 23, ḥ. no. 4776.
[303] *Zawā'id*, vol. 1, p. 132.

Apostle finished (his narration), he said, "Shall I tell you about these three persons? One of them sought refuge with Allāh and Allāh gave him refuge and the second one felt shy and Allāh showed kindness to his shyness (and so he was accommodated in that meeting), while the third went back and Allāh turned away [His attention] from him."[304]

Indeed, the *ḥadīths* which indicate that the Companions kept the company of the Prophet, especially in the mosque, are very numerous. For instance, Ḍimām b. Tha'labah came to the Prophet to ask him about Islam, and he questioned him while his Companions were in his company,[305] and it is narrated that a young man came to ask the Prophet's permission to commit adultery, again while he was in the company of his Companions.[306] In addition, a man came to tell the Prophet that he had had sex with his wife in the broad daylight of Ramaḍān, and he advised him in the presence of his Companions,[307] causing the female Companions to request: "O Allāh's Apostle! Men only benefit by your narration, so please devote to us from your time a day on which we may come to you so that you may teach us some of what Allāh has taught you … ."[308]

B. On his teaching in houses:

Ibn Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī said, "The Apostle of Allāh came to us when we were sitting in the house of Sa'd b. 'Ubādah. Bashīr b. Sa'd said to him, 'Allāh has commanded us to

---

[304] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 66; Muslim, k. *al-Salām*, ḥ. no. 26, Tirmidhī, k. *al-Isti'dhān*, bā. no. 49, ḥ. no. 2724; *Musnad* I, vol. 5, p. 219.
[305] Dārimī, k. *al-Ṭahārah*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 651.
[306] *Musnad* I, vol. 5, pp. 256-7.
[307] Bukhārī, k. *al-Ṣawm*, bā. no. 30, ḥ. no. 1936.
[308] Ibid., k. *al-I'tiṣām bi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 7310; Muslim, k. *al-Birr wa al-ṣilah*, ḥ. no.152.

bless you,[309] Apostle of Allāh, but how should we bless you?' ... The Apostle of Allāh then said, 'Say ...(to the end of the narration).'"[310] On another occasion the Prophet narrated to them about *al-a'war al-dajjāl* (the one-eyed impostor) at the house of Asmā' bt. Yazīd al-Anṣāriyah and what he would do, and what would occur before and after his coming.[311] Moreover, he allocated specific days to the narration and instruction of women, saying to them, "Gather on such and such a day at such and such a place."[312] They gathered and Allāh's Apostle came to them and taught them some of what Allāh had taught him. He then said, "No woman among you who has lost her three children (died) but that they will screen her from the Fire."[313]

C. On his teaching in sermon form:

His sermons are considered to be one of the most important means by which the Prophet practised public teaching. 'Iyāḍ b. Ḥimār al-Mujāshi'ī reported that "Allāh's Apostle while delivering a sermon one day, said, 'Allāh was commanded me that I should teach you what you do not know and what He has taught me today."[314] The most important sermon that he delivered to the people on a regular basis was the Friday sermon, and the Prophet ordered that this sermon be delivered on a regular basis while he was still residing in Makkah. In this connection, he sent a message to Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, in Madīnah: "Look for the day before which the Jews raise their voices in prayer for their Sabbath (i.e. Friday),

---

[309] This refers to the verse of the Qurān: "Surely Allāh and His angels bless the Prophet, O you who believe, call for blessings on him and salute him with a (becoming) salutation." (Q. 33:56)
[310] Muslim, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, ḥ. no. 65; Tirmidhī, k. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, bā. no. 34, ḥ. no. 3220; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Sahū*, bā. no. 49, ḥ. no. 1285; *Musnad* 1, vol. 5, pp. 273-4; Dārimī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*. bā. no. 85, ḥ. no. 1343.
[311] *Musnad* 1, vol. 6, pp. 455-6.
[312] Bukhārī, k. *al-I'tiṣām bi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 7310; Muslim, k. *al-Birr wa al-ṣilah*, ḥ. no.152.
[313] Ibid.

when the sun has passed the meridian, come close to Allāh by praying two *rak'ah*, and then deliver the Friday sermon."[315] This is further confirmed by Ibn Isḥāq who includes in his ***Sīrah*** a narration from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik, who said, "I was leading my father Ka'b when he had lost his sight, and when I brought him out (to the mosque) for the Friday prayer and he heard the call to prayer he called down blessings on Abū Umāmah As'ad b. Zurārah. This went on for some time … Then I asked him, 'O my father why, when you heard the *adhān* for the Friday prayer, did you call down blessings on Abū Umāmah?' He replied, 'O my son, that is because he was the first man to bring us together (for the Friday prayer) at Madīnah …'"[316]

Unsurprisingly, therefore, we find that the Prophet performed the Friday prayer upon his arrival in Madīnah. Ibn Isḥāq also mentions the Prophet's performance of the first Friday prayer after his departure from Qubā'[317] when he was on his way to Madīnah: "The Apostle stayed in Qubā' among Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and then he laid the foundation of his mosque. Then Allāh brought him away from them on the Friday. ... Friday prayer found the Apostle among Banū Sālim b. 'Awf and he prayed it in the mosque which is at the bottom of the Wādī Rānūnā'. This was the first Friday prayer that he prayed in Madīnah."[318] In addition to this, Ibn Isḥāq quotes the texts of the first and second *khuṭbas* delivered by the Prophet following his arrival in Madīnah and his building of the mosque.[319]

---

[314] Muslim, k. *al-Jannah*, ḥ. no. 63. See also *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 1787, 17875-6 & 17035.
[315] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 3, p. 118.
[316] Hishām 1, vol. 1, p. 435.
[317] A place 3 miles from al-Madīnah.
[318] Hishām 1, vol. 1, p. 494.
[319] Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 495-6 & 500-1.

There is not a single statement to indicate that the Prophet abandoned, even once, the Friday sermon, whether he was at Madīnah or on a journey -the Friday sermons that he delivered in Madīnah after his arrival, number about five hundred and ten. Even if he only spoke for, say, five minutes, then the possible *ḥadīths* based on these words alone could well run into thousands.

Other types of sermons:

The Prophet did not mount the pulpit solely for the delivery of the Friday sermons, he also did so on numerous different occasions, including for the delivery of the sermons of *'Īd al-fitr,*[320] *'Īd al-aḍḥā,*[321] *al-istisqā',*[322] *al-kusūf,*[323] and on the conquest of Makkah.[324] This is in addition to the sermons he delivered at the time of the pilgrimage such as his sermons on 'Arafah and Minā.

He would also, on occasion, ascend the pulpit after one of the five prayers to address the assembled people. Anas says, "The Prophet led us in a prayer and then got up on the pulpit ... ."[325] He also says, regarding another occasion, "One day the Prophet led us in a prayer and then got up on the pulpit ... ."[326]

Moreover, he ascended it whenever he deemed it necessary to draw the attention of the Muslims to a significant matter. The following examples illustrate this:

---

[320] The three-day festival of the Muslims that commences on the first day of the month of Shawāl, the month following Ramaḍān. *Fiṭr* literally means 'breaking the fast.' The Muslims fast during the whole month of Ramaḍān, the ninth month of the muslim calender, then when shawāl comes, they break their fasts.
[321] The four-day festival of the muslims starting on the 10th day of the month of *Dhū al-Ḥijjah.*
[322] The collective prayer for rain which Muslims have been commanded to make, consisting of two *rak'ah*, in times of drought.
[323] Muslim, k. *al-Kusūf*, ḥ. no. 901. In Arabic the word *kusūf* is used to denote a solar eclipse, whereas the word *khusūf* is used for a lunar eclipse. At times both the solar and lunar eclipse are denoted by one word - *kusūf.*
[324] See above, p. 88.
[325] Bukhārī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 40, ḥ. no. 419; *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, p. 228.
[326] *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, p. 259.

1. 'Ā'ishah said that Barīrah came to seek her help in arranging her emancipation.[327] 'Ā'ishah said to her, "If you wish, I will pay your master (your price) and the right of inheritance (*walā'*) will fall to me." When Allāh's Apostle came, she told him about it (because of her master refusal). The Prophet said to 'Ā'ishah, "Buy her (i.e. Barīrah) and manumit her, for the *walā'* is for the one who manumits." Then Allāh's Apostle ascended the pulpit and said, "What about those people who stipulate conditions which are not in Allāh's Laws? Whoever stipulates such conditions as are not in Allāh's Laws, then these conditions are invalid even if he has stipulated a hundred such conditions."[328]

2. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ reported that someone from Banū Hāshim had already entered the house of Asmā' bt. 'Umays when Abū Bakr entered. She was at that time his wife, and Abū Bakr disapproved of the incident and made mention of it to Allāh's Apostle, saying: "I did not see but good (in my wife)." ... Then Allāh's Apostle stood on the pulpit and said, "After this day no man should enter the house of another person in his absence, unless he is accompanied by one or two persons."[329]

3. Ya'lā said, "The Apostle of Allāh saw a man having a bath in a public place without a lower garment. So he mounted the pulpit, praised and extolled Allāh and said, 'Allāh is characterised by modesty and concealment: So when any of you is having a bath, he should conceal himself.'"[330]

4. Ibn 'Abbās reported that a man came to the Prophet and said, "O Allāh's Apostle, my master married me to his slave. He now wants to make separation between me and her."

---

[327] The original word is *kitābah* or *mukātabah*, which here means: 'The contract of a slave with his master.' It stipulates that on payment of a certain sum, the slave has in effect bought himself from his master, and is thus free.
[328] Bukhārī, k. *al-Shurūṭ*, bā. no. 17, ḥ. no. 2735; Muslim, k. *al-'Itq*, ḥ. no. 8.
[329] Muslim, k. *al-Salām*, ḥ. no. 22; *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 186.
[330] Dāwūd, k. *al-Ḥammām*, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 4012; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Ghusl wa al-tayamum*, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 406.

He (the narrator) said, Allāh's Apostle ascended the pulpit and said, "O people, what is the matter with a man of you? He marries his slave with his slave-girl and then intends to make separation between the two? Verily, divorce is (the right) of him who seizes the thigh."[331]

5. Narrated 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, "The Prophet had a golden ring made for himself, and when he wore it, he used to turn its stone towards the palm of his hand, so the people too had gold rings made for themselves. The Prophet then ascended the pulpit, and after glorifying and praising Allāh, he said, 'I had it made for me, but now I will never wear it again.' He threw it away, and then the people threw away their rings too."[332]

6. Abū Ḥumayd al-Sā'idī said, "The Prophet appointed a man from the tribe of Banū Asad, called Ibn al-Utabiyyah to collect the *zakāh.* When he returned (with the properties) he said (to the Prophet), 'This is for you and this has been given to me as a gift.' The Prophet stood up on the pulpit and said, 'What is wrong with the employee whom we send (to collect *zakāh* from the public) that he returns to say, 'This is for you and that is for me.' Why did not he stay at his father and mother's house to see whether he would be given gifts or not? By Him in Whose Hand is my life, whoever takes anything illegally will bring it on the Day of Resurrection carrying it around his neck ...'"[333]

Moreover, when the Prophet wanted to address the generality of the Muslims about an important issue, whether he was at Madīnah or on a journey, he would send some one to

---

[331] Ibn Mājah, k. *al-Ṭalāq*, bā. no. 31, ḥ. no. 2081. The right to divorce the slave-girl is vested in the husband who is permitted to have sexual intercourse with her; the master of the slave-girl has no right to demand a divorce.
[332] Bukhārī, k. *al-Libās*, bā. no. 53, ḥ. no. 5876; Muslim, k. *al-Libās wa al-ziynah*, ḥ no. 53; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Libās*, bā. no. 16, ḥ. no. 1741; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Ziynah*, bā. no. 81, ḥ. no. 5290; *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, pp. 119, 153.

call the people by saying '*al-ṣalātu jāmi'ah*' (i.e. indicating that the people should gather together for prayer). When they were assembled, he would deliver his sermon, as was the case in the following examples:

1. Abū Qatādah said, "The Prophet sent out the army of *al-umarā'* (commanders). ...The army moved forward and stayed away for the period which Allāh willed, then the Prophet ascended the pulpit and ordered some one to call out '*al-ṣalātu jāmi'ah*' ... ."[334]

2. Faṭimah bt. Qays said, "... when my period of waiting was over, I heard the voice of an announcer making an announcement for '*al-ṣalātu jāmi'ah*'. So I set out towards the mosque and observed prayer with Allāh's Apostle and I was in the row of women which was near the row of men. When Allāh's Apostle had finished his prayer, he sat on the pulpit, smiling, and said, 'Every worshipper should remain sitting in his place.' He then said, 'Do you know why I have asked you to assemble?' They said, 'Allāh and His Apostle know best' ... ."[335]

3. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "I accompanied the Apostle of Allāh on a journey. We halted at a place. Some of us began to erect their tents, others began to compete with one another in target practice, and others still began to graze their beasts. Then an announcer of the Apostle of Allāh announced '*al-ṣalātu jāmi'ah*' and we gathered around the Apostle of Allāh. He said, 'It was the duty of every Prophet that has gone before me to

---

[333] Bukhārī, k. *al-Aḥkām*, bā. no. 24, ḥ. no. 7174; Muslim, k. *al-Imārah*, ḥ no. 26, Dāwūd, k. *al-Kharāj wa al-Imārah wa al-Fay'*, bā. no. 11, ḥ. no. 2946; *Musnad* 1, vol. 5, pp. 423-4; Dārimī, k. *al-Zakāh*, bā. no. 31, ḥ. no. 1669.
[334] *Musnad* 1, vol. 5, p. 299; Dārimī, k. *al-Siyar*, bā. no. 12, ḥ. no. 2448.
[335] Muslim,k. *al-Fitan*, ḥ no. 119; *Musnad* 1, vol. 6, pp. 374, 418.

guide his followers to what he knew was good for them and warn them against what he knew was bad for them ... .'"[336]

When the Prophet ascended the pulpit it gave the Muslims an opportunity to ask him about various issues, ordinances etc.. The Prophet in his turn answered their questions and made clear before the assembly what is lawful and what is unlawful. The following examples illustrate this:

1. Ibn 'Umar is reported to have said that the Prophet was asked, while sitting on the pulpit, about a man who had a wife but had divorced her. Afterwards, another man married her and divorced her before having sexual intercourse with her. He was asked, "Can she return to the first (husband)?" He replied, "No, not until he (the second husband) has tasted the sweetness of cohabitation with her."[337]

2. Ibn 'Umar reported that a person asked Allāh's Apostle, while he was seated on the pulpit, about eating lizard, whereupon he said, "I neither eat them, nor do I prohibit them."[338]

3. Ibn 'Umar said, "While the Prophet was on the pulpit, a man asked him about how to offer the night prayers. He replied, 'Pray two *Rak'ahs* at a time and then two and then two and so on, and if you are afraid of the dawn (the approach of the time of the *fajr* prayer) pray one *rak'ah* and that will be the *witr* for all the *rak'ahs* which you have offered.'"[339]

4. Durrah bt. Abī Lahab said, "A man stood up and went towards the Prophet while he was on the pulpit and said, 'O Apostle of Allāh, who is the best among men?' He said, 'The

---

[336] Muslim, *k. al-Imārah*, ḥ no. 46; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Bay'ah*, bā. no. 25, ḥ. no.4191; Ibn Mājah, ,k. *al-Fitan*, bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 3956; *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 191.
[337] *Musnad* 1, vol. 2 , p. 62.
[338] Muslim, k. *al-Ṣayd wa al-dhabā'iḥ*, ḥ. no. 41; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Ṣayd wa al-dhabā'iḥ*, bā. no. 26, ḥ. no. 4314.
[339] Bukhārī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 84, ḥ. no. 472; *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 102; Nasā'ī, k. *Qiyām al-layl wa taṭawu' al-nahār*, bā. no. 26, ḥ. no. 1669.

best among men is the one who is best among them in reciting the Qur'ān, fearing Allāh, enjoining good and forbidding evil, and visiting his relatives.'"[340]

5. It is narrated on the authority of Abū Qatādah that the Apostle of Allāh stood up among his Companions (on the pulpit)[341] to deliver his sermon, in which he told them that *jihād* in the way of Allāh and belief in Allāh were the most meritorious of acts. A man stood up and said, "O Apostle of Allāh, do you think that if I am killed in the way of Allāh, my sins will be blotted out from me?" The Apostle of Allāh said, "Yes, if you are killed in the way of Allāh, and were patient and sincere and always fought facing the enemy, never turning your back upon them ... (all your wrong actions will be forgiven you) except debt ... ."[342]

D. On his teaching by means of an announcer:

In addition to his teaching of his Companions in houses, mosques and in sermons, the Prophet would also send announcers (*munādīn*) who were charged with conveying his instructions to the people. These typically included new legislation and ordinances so that the people would be updated with regard to any new situation.

Many Companions including Ibn 'Umar, Usāmah b. 'Umayr b. 'Āmir, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, Salamah b. al-Akwa', 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, Fāṭimah bt. Qays, Anas b. Mālik, Ibn Abī Awfā, Zāhir al-Aslamī and others use the following expressions in their narrations, which indicate that the Prophet used announcers:

"I heard the announcer of the Apostle of Allāh... ."[343]

---

[340] *Musnad* 1, vol. 6, p. 432. See also p. 68.
[341] Nasā'ī, k. *al-Jihād*, bā. no. 32, ḥ. no. 3158; Muslim, k. *al-Imārah*, ḥ. no. 118; Dārimī, k. *al-Jihād*, bā. no. 21, ḥ. no. 2412.
[342] Muslim, k. *al-Imārah*, ḥ. no. 117.
[343] Dāwūd, k. *al-Malāḥim*, bā. no. 15, ḥ. no. 4326.

"Then, the announcer of the Prophet announced... ."[344]

"The announcer of the Apostle of Allāh announced... ."[345]

"Suddenly, the announcer of the Apostle announced... ."[346]

"The announcer of the Apostle of Allāh came out to us... ."[347]

"The announcer of the Apostle of Allāh used to announce... ."[348]

"The Prophet ordered his announcer to call... ."[349]

The following narrations illustrate this further:

1. Abū Hurayrah said, "The Apostle of Allāh commanded me to announce that prayer is not valid but with the recitation of *fātiḥat al-kitāb*[350] and something more."[351]

2. Al-Rubayyi' bt. Mu'awwidh b. 'Afrā' said, "The Apostle of Allāh sent [a person] on the morning of *'āshūrā'*[352] to the villages of the Anṣār [to convey this message,] 'He who got up in the morning fasting should complete the rest of the day [without food].'"[353]

3. Anas b. Mālik narrated that, "The Prophet ordered Abū Ṭalḥah, during the military expedition of Khaybar,[354] to announce to the people, 'Allāh and his Apostle forbid you to eat the flesh of domestic asses because it is impure.' So, all the pots were turned upside down."[355]

---

[344] Bukhārī, k. *al-Jihād wa al-siyar*, bā. no. 130, ḥ. no. 2991.
[345] Ibid., k. *Farḍ al-khumus*, bā. no. 20, ḥ. no. 3155.
[346] Ibid., k. *al-Maghāzī*, bā. no. 35, ḥ. no. 4137; Muslim, k. *al-Imārah*, ḥ. no. 46.
[347] Muslim, k. *al-Nikāḥ*, ḥ. no. 13.
[348] Ibn Mājah, k. *Iqāmat al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 35, ḥ. no. 937.
[349] *Musnad* 1, vol. 5, p. 75.
[350] 'The Opening One'; the first *sūrah* of the Qur'ān.
[351] Dāwūd, *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 135, ḥ. no. 820; *Musnad* 1, vol. 2, p. 428.
[352] The 10th of the month of Muḥarram, the first month in the Muslim calendar. It was the day when Moses and his people got freedom from the hands of the Pharaoh.
[353] Muslim, k. *al-Ṣiyām*, ḥ. no. 136; Bukhārī, k. *al-Ṣawm*, bā. no. 21, ḥ. no. 1924, bā. no. 47, ḥ. no. 1960; *Musnad* 1, vol. 6, p. 359.
[354] For the definition of *Khaybar*, see footnote no. 10 above.
[355] *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, p. 121.

4. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ narrated that, "The Prophet sent an announcer to all quarters of Makkah to inform them that *zakāt al-fiṭr* (alms given at the end of Ramaḍān) is an obligation on every Muslim, male or female, freeman or slave, young or old. They were also informed that it should consist of two *mudds*[356] of wheat or the equivalent of that, or a *ṣā'*[357] of food."[358]

5. Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān narrated that Abū Hurayrah said, "During that *ḥajj* (in which Abū Bakr was the leader of the pilgrims), Abū Bakr sent me along with the announcers on the day of sacrifice[359] in Minā to announce, 'No pagans shall perform the *ḥajj* after this year, and none shall perform the *ṭawāf* around the *Ka'bah* in a naked state.'" Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān added, "Then Allāh's Apostle sent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [after Abū Bakr] and ordered him to recite aloud in public *sūrat Barā'ah*." Abū Hurayrah continued, "So 'Alī, along with us, recited *Barā'ah* (aloud) before the people at Minā on the day of sacrifice and announced, 'No pagan shall perform *ḥajj* after this year and none shall perform the *ṭawāf* around the *Ka'bah* in a naked state.'"[360]

6. The Prophet ordered Bishr b. Suḥaym, during the days of *tashrīq*[361] to call out this message: "None will enter Paradise except a believer. And these are the days of eating and drinking."[362]

7. Mu'ādh b. Anas al-Juhanī said, "I fought along with the Prophet in various battles. The people occupied much space and encroached on the road. The Prophet sent an announcer

[356] A measure equivalent to two third of a kilogram.
[357] A measure for corn, etc. Equals four *mudds* or 2.2 pounds.
[358] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Zakāh*, bā. no. 35, ḥ. no. 674.
[359] i.e. the 10th of *Dhū al-Ḥijjah*.
[360] Bukhārī, k. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, S. no. 9, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 4655.
[361] i.e. the 11th, 12th and 13th of *Dhū al-Ḥijjah*
[362] Nasā'ī, k. *al-Īmān*, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 4994.

to announce among the people, 'Those who occupy much space or encroach on the road will not be credited with *jihād*.'"[363]

The Companions attitude towards the Prophet's addresses and narrations

It is evident that the Companions ascribed great value to attending to what they had heard the Prophet say. Abū Bakr and al-'Abbās once passed by one of the gatherings of the Anṣār who were weeping. One of the two asked, "Why are you weeping?" They replied, "We are weeping because we remember the gatherings where the Prophet was with us." So Abū Bakr went to the Prophet and told him of that. The Prophet came out, tying a piece of the hem of a sheet around his head. He ascended the pulpit, which he was never to ascend again after that day.[364]

When the Prophet started to talk, they gave him all their attention. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd says, "When the Prophet sat on the pulpit we would all direct our faces towards him (i.e. we would listen attentively to what he said)."[365] 'Adī b. Thābit is reported to have said, on his father's authority, "As the Prophet stood on the pulpit, his Companions directed their faces towards him."[366]

A number of them were very keen not to be ignorant of the content of any talk given by the Prophet, and thus took turns in attending the Prophet's gatherings. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "I and an Anṣārī neighbour of mine from Banū Umayyah b. Zayd, who used to live in the *'Awālī* of al-Madīnah, would visit the Prophet in turns. He used to go one day, and I another day. When I went, I would bring him the news of what had happened that day regarding instructions and orders, and when he went, he would do the

---

[363] Dāwūd, k. *al-Jihād*, bā. no. 67, ḥ. no. 2629; *Musnad* 1, vol. 3, pp. 440-41.
[364] Bukhārī, k. *Manāqib al-Anṣār*, bā. no. 11, ḥ. no. 3799.
[365] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Jumu'ah*, bā. no. 14, ḥ. no. 509.
[366] Ibn Mājah, k. *Iqāmat al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 98, ḥ. no. 1136.

same for me ... ."[367] Some Companions assigned the task of tending the camels on a rota basis, in order that each might have the opportunity of attending to the Prophet's discourses. 'Uqbah b. 'Āmir said, "We served ourselves in the company of the Apostle of Allāh. We tended our camels in turn. One day I had my turn to tend the camels, and I drove them in the afternoon. I found the Apostle of Allāh standing addressing the people."[368]

The Prophet's teaching in its breadth of scope and variety of forms had a very significant impact on the Companions, and eventually rendered them sufficiently knowledgeable to give instruction to the people of neighbouring regions, other countries and the visiting delegations, as has been discussed above.

As such, the statement of 'Amr b. 'Anbasah in which he affirms that he heard one of the Prophet's *ḥadīths* more than seven times is unsurprising, in view of the scope and frequency with which the Prophet taught: 'Amr narrated a *ḥadīth* to Abū Umāmah regarding the reward for performing *wuḍū'* (ablution.) The latter said, "O 'Amr b. 'Anbasah, think about what you are saying, that such a great reward is given to a man in one place [i.e. in the act of ablution and prayer]." Upon hearing this, 'Amr said, "O Abū Umāmah, I have grown old, my bones have become weak and I am at death's door, what reason is there for me to attribute a lie to Allāh and the Apostle of Allāh? Had I heard it

[367] Bukhārī, k. *al-Maẓālim wa al-ghaṣb*, bā. no. 25, ḥ. no. 2468; Muslim, k. *al-Ṭalāq*, ḥ. no. 34; Tirmidhī, k. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, bā. no. 66, ḥ. no. 3318.

[368] Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṭahārah*, bā. no. 65, ḥ. no. 169; Muslim, k. *al-Ṭahārah*, ḥ. no. 17; *Musnad* 1, vol. 4, pp. 145-6, 153.

from the Apostle of Allāh once, twice, thrice, four, five, six or seven times, I should have never narrated it, but I have heard it from him on more occasions than that."[369]

It is also clear from the Companions' use of the plural form in narrating the Prophet's *ḥadīths* that he taught and narrated to them in groups. On numerous occasions we find them saying:

"The Prophet narrated to us ...;"	﴿حَدَّثَنَا﴾
"The Prophet told us ...;"	﴿أَخْبَرَنَا﴾
"The Prophet taught us ...;"	﴿عَلَّمَنَا﴾
"The Prophet ordered us ...;"	﴿أَمَرَنَا﴾
"The Prophet prohibited us ...;"	﴿نَهَانَا﴾
"The Prophet addressed us ...;"	﴿خَطَبَنَا﴾
"The Prophet used to teach us ...;"	﴿كَانَ يُعَلِّمُنَا﴾
"The Prophet said, Shall I not teach you ...;"	﴿أَلا أُعَلِّمُكُمْ﴾
"The Prophet said, Shall I not tell you ...;"	﴿أَلا أُخْبِرُكُم﴾
"The Prophet said, Shall I not narrate to you ...;"	﴿أَلا أُحَدِّثُكُمْ﴾
"The Prophet said, Did not you hear ...;"	﴿أَلَمْ تَسْمَعُوا﴾
"We heard the Prophet ...;"	﴿سَمِعْنَا﴾
"We saw the Prophet ...;"	﴿رَأَيْنَا﴾

[369] Muslim, k. *Ṣalāht al-Musāfirīn*, ḥ. no. 294.

and so forth.[370]

E. His teaching on an individual basis:

In addition to teaching people in groups, he would also teach individuals. Abū Maḥdhūrah told 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥayrīz that "The Apostle of Allāh taught me the nineteen phrases of the *adhān* and the seventeen phrases in the *iqāmah* … ."[371] 'Adī b. Ḥātim says, "The Prophet taught me prayer and fasting. He said, pray in such and such a manner, and fast for thirty days unless you see the new moon."[372] Ka'b b. 'Ujrah mentioned that a man spoke to the Prophet and said, "O Apostle of Allāh, we know how to salute you, but how do we invoke Allāh for you?"[373] The Prophet then taught him how to invoke Allāh for him. Abū Qatādah and Abū al-Dahmā' said, "We came upon a bedouin, who said to us, 'The Apostle of Allāh took my hand and began to teach me of what Allāh had taught him. What I learned by heart from him was that he said, 'Whatever you leave for fear of Almighty Allāh, then Allāh will definitely bring you something better than what you have left."[374] His teaching was not addressed solely to men, but also to women and children. As to the former, the Prophet taught Juwayriyah a glorification that is related to the glorification of Allāh,[375] and said to Asmā' bint 'Umays, "May I not teach you phrases which you can utter in distress?"[376] Further, he taught a Muslim woman how to wash

---

[370] See *Concordance.*
[371] Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 28, ḥ. no. 502&504; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 14956&18885; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 26, ḥ. no. 192; Ibn Mājah, k. *al-Adhān*, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 709; Dārimī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 1197.
[372] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 18885.
[373] Ibid., ḥ. no. 17661. See also, Bukhārī, k. *al-Tafsīr*, s. no. 33, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 4797.
[374] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 20222. See also ḥ. no. 20215.
[375] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 26218; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Sahū*, bā. no. 94, ḥ. no. 1352; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Da'awāt*, bā. no. 104, ḥ. no. 3555.
[376] Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 361, ḥ. no. 1525.

herself after menstruation,[377] etc. Regarding the latter, Ibn Abbās said, "I was behind the Prophet (on a riding animal) when he said, 'O boy, shall I teach you some words with which Allāh will benefit you?' I said, 'yes, ...'" The Prophet then taught him and recommended that he do certain things.[378] When 'Amr b. Abī Salamah was a child, the Prophet taught him what he should say at the beginning of a meal, with which hand he should eat and from what side of the plate he should eat. 'Amr said, "Since then I have applied these teachings when eating."[379] Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī said: "Allāh's Apostle taught me some words to say during the *witr* [specifically, in the supplication of the *witr* prayer]"[380]

The Prophet's teaching of individuals has many aspects, indeed, it is impossible in this section to list the totality of examples which depict its various facets. It is however useful to present an example of the Prophet's teaching, and we have chosen his teaching of the glorification and invocation of Allāh by way of illustration. When one studies the books of the *Sunnah*, one finds hundreds of *ḥadīths* on this subject, though for the present purposes I will present only a cross-section which will indicate the scope of the Prophet's teaching of the glorification and invocation of Allāh, and where specific mention is made of the Prophet being involved in teaching through use of the verb '*'allama*' (to teach).

1. A glorification which is better than having a servant:

It is reported on the authority of 'Alī that, "Fāṭimah had corns on her hand from working at the hand-mill. Some captives were brought to the Prophet, and she came to him

---

377 Muslim, k. *al-Ḥayḍ*, ḥ. no. 60.
378 *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 2800; Tirmidhī, k. *Ṣifat al-qiyāmah*, bā. no. 59, ḥ. no. 2516.
379 Bukhārī, k. *al-Aṭ'imah*, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 5376; Muslim, k. *al-Ashribah*, ḥ. no. 108; Ibn Mājah, k. *al-Aṭ'imah*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 3267; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 15897.
380 Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 340, ḥ. no. 1425; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 1720; Nasā'ī, k. *Qiyām al-layl*, bā. no. 51, ḥ. no. 1745-6; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 464; Dārimī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 214, ḥ. no. 1591 & 1592.

but did not find him at home. 'Ā'ishah was present there, whom she told (of her desire for a servant). When the Prophet came, 'Ā'ishah informed him about Fāṭimah's visit." 'Alī added, "So the Prophet came to us when we had gone to our beds, and I wanted to get up but the Prophet said, 'remain in your place.' Then he sat down between us and I felt the coolness of his feet on my chest. Then he said, 'Shall I teach you a thing which is better than what you have asked me? When you go to bed say, *Allāhu-akbar*[381] thirty-four times, *subḥān Allāh*[382] thirty-three times and *al-ḥamdu-lillah*[383] thirty-three times, for that is better for you both than a servant.'"[384]

2. A glorification from the treasures of Paradise:

Abū Mūsā narrated that the Prophet said, "O 'Abd Allāh b. Qays! Shall I teach you a sentence which is from the treasures of Paradise? It is 'there is neither might nor power except with Allāh (*lā ḥawlā walā quwata' illā billāh*).'"[385] The Prophet also taught it to Abū Hurayrah.[386]

3. A glorification to be said during times of distress:

Asmā' bint 'Umays said: "The Apostle of Allāh taught me some words which I should say during times of distress."[387] In connection with this, the Prophet also taught 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib another glorification.[388]

---

[381] Allāh is greater.
[382] Holiness to Allāh.
[383] Praise be to Allāh.
[384] Bukhārī, k. *al-Manāqib,* bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 3705; Muslim, k. *al-Dhikr wa al-du'ā',* ḥ. no. 81; See also Dārimī, k. *al-Isti'dhān*, bā. no. 52, ḥ. no. 2685.
[385] Bukhārī, k. *al-Qadar,* bā. no. 7, ḥ. no. 6610; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 19102; Tirmidhī, k. *al-da'awāt,* bā. no. 3, ḥ. no. 3374, bā. no. 58, ḥ. no. 3461.
[386] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 8980.
[387] Ibid., ḥ. no. 26542.

4. An invocation to be said by those who have newly embraced Islam:

Abū Mālik al-Ashja'ī reported on the authority of his father that when a person embraced Islam, Allāh's Apostle used to teach him how to observe prayer and then command him to invoke using these words, "O Allāh, grant me pardon, have mercy upon me, direct me to the path of righteousness, grant me protection and provide me with sustenance."[389]

5. An invocation to be said when the *adhān* is called for the sunset prayer:

Umm Salamah said, "The Apostle of Allāh taught me to say, when the *adhān* for the sunset prayer is called, 'O Allāh, this is the time when the night comes on, the day retires, and the voices of the summoners are heard, so forgive me.'"[390]

6. An invocation made so that one may be free from care and clear of debt:

Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī said "One day the Apostle of Allāh entered the mosque. He saw there a man from the Anṣār called Abū Umāmah. He said, 'Why do I see you sitting in the mosque when it is not a time of prayer?' He said, 'I am entangled in cares and debts, Apostle of Allāh.' He replied, 'Shall I not teach you words by which, when you say them, Allāh will remove your care, and settle your debt?' He said, 'Yes,' … ."[391]

7. An invocation to be said at bed-time:

---

[388] Ibid., ḥ. no. 703.
[389] Muslim, k. *al-Dhikr wa al-du'ā'*, ḥ. no. 35.
[390] Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 39, ḥ. no. 530.
[391] Ibid., bā. no. 367, ḥ. no.1555.

Al-Barā' b. 'Āzib mentioned that the Apostle of Allāh said to him, "Shall I not teach you some words which you should say when you go to bed? … ."[392]

8. An invocation to be said at times of alarm:

'Amr b. Shu'ayb, on his father's authority, said that his grandfather reported that the Apostle of Allāh taught them the following words to be said at times of alarm, "I seek refuge in Allāh's perfect words from His anger, the evil of His servants, etc."[393]

In fact, there are numerous Companions who mention that the Prophet taught them a glorification or invocation. These include, in addition to those already mentioned, 'Ā'ishah,[394] 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr,[395] 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd,[396] Zayd b. Arqam,[397] Zayd b. Thābit,[398] Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ,[399] Shaddād b. Aws,[400] and many others.

There are also numerous glorifications and invocations which appear in the Prophetic *Ḥadīth* in which terms other than the verb 'to teach' are used. The scholars of *Sunnah,* including al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Mājah, al-Ḥākim and so forth, have devoted specific chapters to Prophetic glorifications and invocations. Of course, the Prophet's teaching was not restricted to glorifications and invocations but also encompassed a great deal of personal, social and political life, as is clear from the conversation between Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib and the Negus, as well as from the narration of Salmān al- Fārisī, which we cited at the beginning of this section (See above, pp. 137-8).

---

392 Tirmidhī, k. *al-Da'awāt,* bā. no. 16, ḥ. no. 3394.
393 Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṭib,* bā. no. 19, ḥ. no. 3893.
394 Ibid., ḥ. no. 24498; Ibn Mājah, k. *al-Du'ā',* bā. no. 4, ḥ. no. 3846.
395 *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 6561.
396 Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh,* bā. no. 182, ḥ. no. 969.
397 Nasā'ī, k. *al-Isti'dhāh,* bā. no. 13, ḥ. no. 5458.
398 *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 21158.
399 Nasā'ī, k. *al-Isti'dhaāh,* bā. no. 5, ḥ. no. 5445, bā. no. 39, ḥ. no. 5496.

It is clear that the intense commitment of the Prophet to the teaching of people, both young and old, male and female, in groups and individually, from the beginning of his call to Islam, contributed greatly to the preservation of the *Sunnah* among his Companions and the Muslims in general.

---

[400] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Da'awāt,* bā. no. 23, ḥ. no. 3407.

CONCLUSION

The various tasks undertaken by the Prophet which have been discussed in Chapter 2 represent, in their entirety, a methodology which contributed very effectively to the preservation of the Prophet's teachings and resulted in the written collections of the *Ḥādīth*. This methodology, as we have seen, is characterised by a variety of techniques and approaches, each as important as the other, and indeed, mutually complementary to one another: The Prophet, throughout his life, urged his Companions, and also the delegations that visited Madīnah, to memorise his instructions, he utilized both private and public forums to urge them in a variety of ways to accomplish this, he did not neglect the need for the recording of his teachings, which he plainly allowed and even ordered them to do so at appropriate times, however, he was not satisfied that his Companions should restrict themselves to the memorisation and writing down of his teachings, he also ordered them to convey them to others. Whenever the Prophet had delivered an important teaching, he immediately ordered those present to convey to others what they heard from him, praying for those who undertook this task. To encourage the dissemination of his teachings, he drew their attention to the fact that it may be that the statement reaches someone who can understand its meanings better than the person who conveyed it. In order to ensure that his teachings was transmitted correctly, the Prophet took some precautionary measures: He warned them regarding the bitter end of those who deliberately distorted and misrepresented his sayings and, he struck terror into the hearts of the people regarding the bitter end of those who failed to act upon his sayings when they reached them. In this way, knowledge of the teaching would not be confined to the individuals present when it was given and to written records, rather, it would be effectively disseminated among the people.

In addition, the great care that he took in teaching people young and old, individually and in groups, whether they were resident in Madīnah or visiting from elsewhere, in mosques and houses, and in his various sermons as well as through an announcer, is evidenced by numerous narrations. Thus, the Companions also had ample opportunity to question and enter into a dialogue, in order to reach a firm understanding of the Prophet's instructions.

He also paid great attention to teaching those who were outside Madīnah, both near and far. In this regard, he was unremitting in dispatching messengers to teach people the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*, while providing these envoys with letters that were complete with the minutest details regarding many issues of *Sunnah.*

Foremost in all this was his emphasis on the status and importance of *Sunnah* and the mandatory obligation on the Muslims to follow it without contradiction. He employed a wide variety of approaches in illustrating this point, as discussed above. He strove to make the Companions fully aware of the status, importance and role of the *Sunnah* in their lives, and in their destiny after death, and the evidence suggests that he succeeded resoundingly as the value of what he brought became apparent in the transformation that was wrought in the lives of individuals and the community. Hence the Companions preserved and acted upon *Sunnah.* This was very much the case when the Prophet had illustrated to them that obedience to Allāh and admittance to His paradise require that they should obey His Prophet and act in accordance with what he did and said.

It will be noted that each of the eight sections above contains substantial evidence in support of the assertions made in them. The connection between, and consistency of this evidence is clearly apparent and is in itself a strong indication of their veracity that casts

serious aspersions on claims that they are fabricated. Even if we accept, for the sake of argument, that there was an attempt to fabricate evidence with regard to a specific area it would be impossible to accept that all of the evidence discussed above is fabricated. The total number of items of consistent, mutually supporting evidence may well run into hundreds, where each is narrated by a Companion or a group of Companions, indeed, some of these pieces of evidences are narrated by up to thirty Companions individually.

Accordingly, the results of our research into a selection of the methods which the Prophet used, as mentioned in original Islamic sources, in preservation and propagation of the *Sunnah*, confirm that his teachings were widely disseminated and effectively preserved at the time of the Prophet and his Companions, leading us to agree to a large extent with Dozy's opinion, who has much confidence in a large part of the *Ḥādīth* but in which Goldziher, however, places little trust:[1]

"Closer acquaintance with the vast stock of *ḥadīths* induces sceptical caution rather than optimistic trust regarding the material brought together in the carefully compiled collections."[2]

By contrast, in light of the above, we would assert that close acquaintance with the vast stock of *ḥadīths,* accompanied by scientific rigour, is more likely to induce optimistic trust than sceptical caution. In Part Two, we will proceed to discuss the evidence for Goldziher's view, which, as will be seen, stands in direct opposition to the conclusions that we have reached.

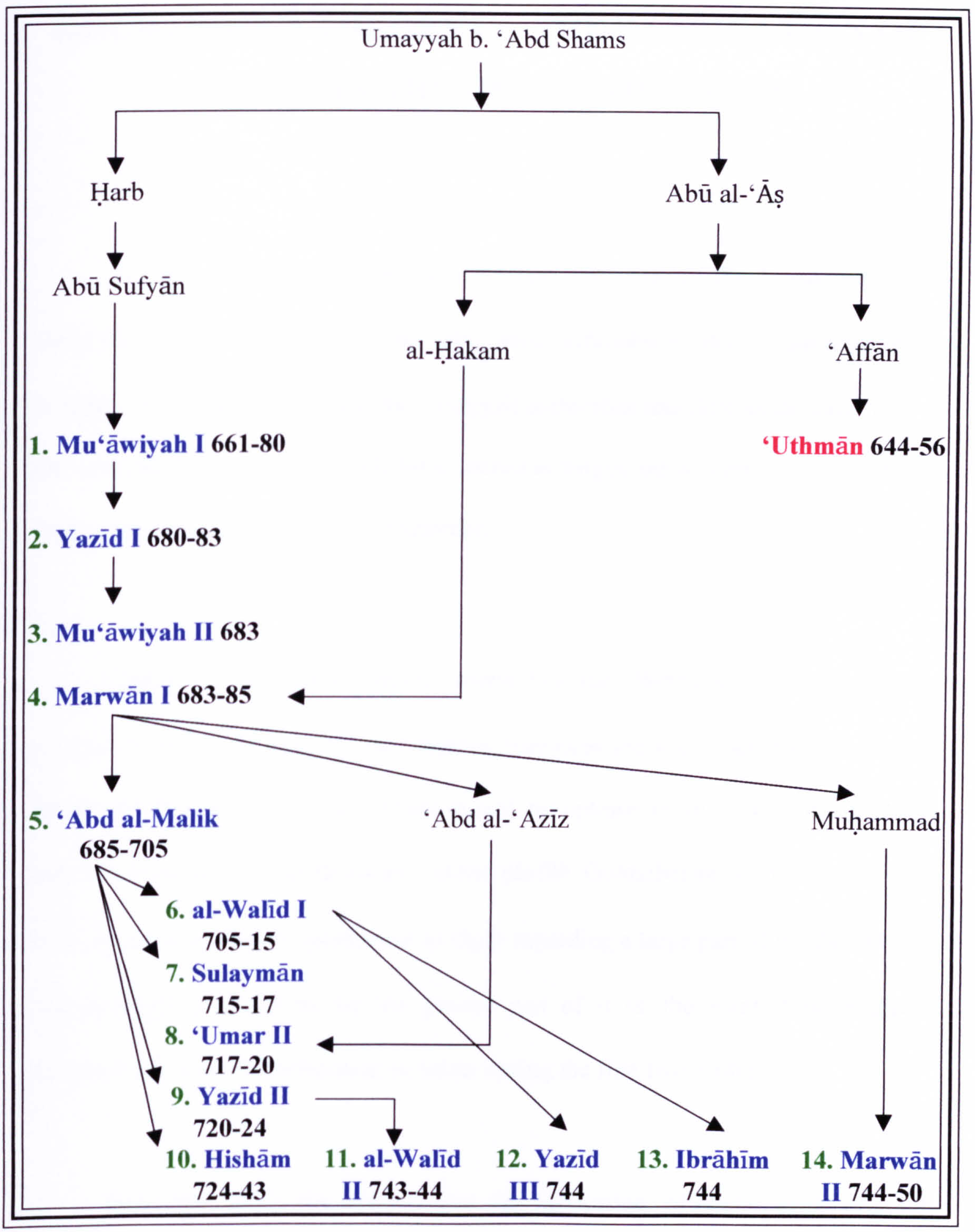
[1] Goldziher said, "We are unlikely to have even as much confidence as Dozy regarding a large part of the ḥadīth". Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 19.
[2] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 19.

PART 2

GOLDZIHER AND THE *ḤADĪTH*

An Analysis Of Goldziher's Main Evidence For His Assertions Regarding The Fabrication Of *Ḥadīth* During The Umayyad Period





The Umayyad caliphate established in 661 was to last for about a century.

INTRODUCTION
TO
GOLDZIHER'S THEORY OF THE FABRICATION OF *ḤADĪTH* IN THE UMAYYAD PERIOD

In this introduction we will mention very briefly the broad outline of Goldziher's theories regarding the fabrication of *ḥadīths* by the Companions of the Prophet, the pious scholars and the Umayyad authorities and their associates. Due to the fact that Goldziher expounds his evidence at length, we will present it in detail at each appropriate juncture in our discussion.

Goldziher, in general terms, asserts that the *Ḥadīth* are no more than a product of the development of the religious, historical and social dimensions of Islam during its first two centuries. In this regard, his opinion is contrary to that of Dozy, who has confidence in the larger part of the *Ḥadīth*. Goldziher says, "We are unlikely to have even as much confidence as Dozy regarding a large part of the *Ḥadīth*, but will probably consider by far the greater part of it as the result of the religious, historical and social development of Islam during the first two centuries."[1]

Goldziher holds the opinion that the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* began after the death of the Prophet and that indeed, the first to fabricate *Ḥadīth* were the

[1] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 19.

Companions themselves, as is made clear by his statement, "The Prophet's pious followers have reverently repeated the enlightening sayings of the master and have endeavoured to preserve for the edification and instruction of the community everything that he said, both in public and in private, regarding the practice of the religious obligations prescribed by him, the conduct of life in general, and social behaviour, whether in relation to the past or the future. When the rapid succession of conquests led them to distant countries; they handed on these ḥadīths of the Prophet to those who had not heard them with their own ears, and after his death they added many salutary sayings which were thought to be in accord with his sentiments and could therefore, in their view, legitimately be ascribed to him, or of whose soundness they were in general convinced. These ḥadīths dealt with the religious and legal practices which had been developed under the Prophet and were regarded as setting the norm for the whole Islamic world. They formed the basic material of the ḥadīth . . . ."[2]

Goldziher's theory regarding the core factor underlying the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* in the Umayyad era, is based mainly on his analysis of the great enmity that existed between the Umayyad dynasty and the pious scholars. He elaborates this enmity with various statements, all of which portray the readiness of each side to fabricate *ḥadīths*; either to the detriment of the other party, or to bolster their own cause.

---

[2] Ibid., p. 18.

Goldziher's open allegation that the pious men invented *ḥadīths* is evident from the following statements of his:

1. "The pious, however, endeavoured to demand adherence to a fixed sunna in the name of the Prophet and, when they found that the government did not support them in efforts which seemed unimportant to the latter, they produced the following Prophecy of Muhammed: 'There will come emirs after me who will kill the *ṣalāt*..."[3]
2. "Pious people of Sa'īd's kind frowned at the state of affairs under such rule; they decried the tyrannical government, defied it by passive resistance [which implies the fabrication of *ḥadīths* as will be noted in Chapter 4] and even showed their dissatisfaction openly, occasionally going so far as to refuse homage. In return they were hated and despised by the ruling circles."[4]
3. "Without paying any attention to reality these men founded the sunna of the Prophet upon which the law and jurisprudence of the Islamic state was to be based. The Companions and 'followers' living amongst them gave them the sacred material which formed the contents and basis of their endeavour."[5]
4. "Thus there arise new people to relate sayings ascribed to the Prophet, but some new things also came into being."[6]
5. "Anything which appears desirable to pious men [i.e. the Ulamā'] was given by them a corroborating support reaching back to the Prophet. This could easily be

---

[3] Ibid., p. 40.
[4] Ibid., p. 41.
[5] Ibid., p. 42.

done in a generation in which the Companions, who were represented as the intermediaries of the Prophet's words, were no longer alive."[7]

6. "The fact that by disseminating these teachings they thought they were working against the godless tendency of the time, quietened the conscience of the pious inventors of traditions, who related their own teachings and those of their immediate teachers back to the authority of the Master who was for all, including even the lax, an undisputable source of law."[8]

7. "Since the pious opponents of the dynasty looked upon the 'Alid pretenders as the chosen saviours of the empire, a large part of these falsifications was dedicated to the praise of the Prophet's family without being a direct attack upon the Umayyads. But nobody could be so simple as not to recognize the negative implications."[9]

8. "They [The ruling power] had to do what their opponents [the pious circles] did: invent, or have invented, *ḥadīths* in their turn."[10]

9. "Thus the *ḥadīth* led in the first century a troubled existence, in silent opposition to the ruling element which worked in the opposite direction. The pious cultivated and disseminated in their orders the little that they had saved from early times or acquired by communication. They also fabricated new material for which they could expect recognition only in a small community."[11]

---

[6] Ibid., p. 42.
[7] Ibid., p. 42.
[8] Ibid., pp. 42-3.
[9] Ibid., p. 43.
[10] Ibid., p. 43.
[11] Ibid., p. 43.

Regarding the other party, Goldziher also assumes that the Umayyad government, from its early days, played a significant role in the invention and dissemination of fabricated *ḥadīths* in order to serve its own purposes and to consolidate its political stance against the opposition parties. He said, "This must not lead us to believe that during this period theologians in opposition were alone at work on the tradition. The ruling power itself was not idle. If it wished an opinion to be generally recognized and the opposition of pious circles silenced, it too had to know how to discover a *ḥadīth* to suit its purpose. They had to do what their opponents did: invent, or have invented, *ḥadīths* in their turn. And that is in effect what they did. A number of facts are available to show that the impetus to these inventions and falsifications often came from the highest government circles; and if it is realized that even among the most pious of theologians there were willing tools to further their invention, it is not surprising that, among the hotly debated controversial issues of Islam, whether political or doctrinal, there is none in which the champions of the various views are unable to cite a number of traditions, all equipped with imposing *isnāds*."[12]

He goes on, "Official influence on the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions started very early… The Umayyads and their political followers had no scruples in promoting tendentious lies in a sacred religious form, and they were only concerned to find pious authorities who would be prepared to cover such falsifications with their undoubted authority."[13] Elsewhere he refers to,

[12] Ibid., pp. 43-4.
[13] Ibid., p. 44.

"How the Umayyads made it their business to put into circulation *ḥadīths* which seemed to them desirable, and how people of the type of the pious al-Zuhrī acquiesced in being their tools -though they certainly were not guided by selfish motives but merely by reasons of state expediency- is to be seen from evidence preserved by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī which deserves to be considered in this context."[14] Furthr, "The official invention of *ḥadīths* under the Umayyads would be used even for such trivial purposes. Pious sayings were meant to break down the resistance of the pious and to disarm them."[15]

In addition to the above he believes that theologians in official positions were compelled, or were willing, without external pressure because of their support for the prevailing power, to put into circulation fabricated traditions.[16]

Hence, our attention in this part will be devoted to the presentation and discussion of those claims that Goldziher supports with evidence, with the exception of a handful of very significant statements which he dose not support with any evidence. Besides these, we will restrict ourselves to discussing the most significant evidence cited by Goldziher which he suggests directly and clearly indicates the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* with regard to the Umayyad era in particular. This is mainly because that era was important in revealing the nature of the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*.

The discussion will be presented as follows:

[14] Ibid., p. 46.
[15] Ibid., p. 49.

Chapter 3: An analysis of the evidence he cites in support of his claim that the Companions fabricated *Ḥadīth*.

Chapter 4: An analysis of the evidence he cites in support of his claim that the pious scholars fabricated *Ḥadīth* during the Umayyad' period.

Chapter 5: An analysis of the evidence he cites in support of his claim that the Umayyads fabricated *Ḥadīth*.

Chapter 6: An analysis of the evidence he cites in support of his claim that the theologians fabricated *Ḥadīth*.

Chapter 7: The impact of Goldziher's opinions on subsequent studies.

Conclusion: The results of the study and an appraisal of Goldziher's methodology.

---

[16] See Ibid., p. 53.

CHAPTER 3
THE COMPANIONS AND FABRICATION

An analysis of the evidence Goldziher cites in support of his claim that the Companions fabricated *Ḥadīth*

Section 1: Goldziher's Evidence regarding the Companions' fabrication.

Section 2: Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah.

Section 3: 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd.

Section 4: Abū Hurayrah.

Section 5: Goldziher's stance regarding Abū Hurayrah's *ḥadīths*.

SECTION 1

GOLDZIHER'S EVIDENCE REGARDING THE COMPANIONS' FABRICATION

This section will be devoted to the presentation of his evidence regarding the role of the Companions in the fabrication of *Ḥadīth.*

It seems, according to Goldziher's allegation, that has been cited above, and is as follows: "... after his death they added many salutary sayings which were thought to be in accord with his sentiments and could therefore, in their view, legitimately be ascribed to him, or of whose soundness they were in general convinced,"[1] that many Companions were accused of fabrication. However, he did not provide us with evidence to prove his theory, with the exception of a few examples in which he presents the names of those Companions he alleges were involved. Among them are Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd and Abū Hurayrah. He presents his evidence as follows:

1. Goldziher considers official influence on the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* to have began in earnest at the time of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, accusing him along with his governor, the Companion of the Prophet, al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah,

[1] See above, p. 166.

"Official influence on the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions started very early. An instruction given to his obedient governor al-Mughīrah by Mu'āwiyah I is in the spirit of the Umayyads: 'Do not tire of abusing and insulting 'Alī and calling for God's mercifulness for 'Uthmān, defaming the companions of 'Alī, removing them and omitting to listen to them (i.e. to what they tell and propagate as *ḥadīths*); praising, in contrast, the clan of 'Uthmān, drawing them near to you and listening to them.' This is an official encouragement to foster the rise and spread of *ḥadīths* directed against 'Alī and to hold back and suppress *ḥadīths* favouring 'Alī."[2]

2. Goldziher says,

"'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd says: 'The most beautiful ḥadīth is the book of Allāh, and the best guidance is that of Muhammed.' It seems that this statement, which was gladly taken up and widely disseminated by the community of the faithful, was ascribed to Muhammed himself by making him say, in an exhortation to the community: 'The most beautiful ḥadīth is the book of Allāh; blessed is he whose heart is adorned therewith by Allāh, he whom He has permitted to be converted to Islam from unbelief, and he who prefers it to all other ḥadīths of man. Verily, it is the most beautiful and perfect ḥadīth."[3]

In the footnote he says,

"In later days it was found objectionable that the Koran should be called ḥadīth and in this sentence ḥadīth was altered to *kalām* (speech)."[4]

---

[2] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 44.
[3] Ibid., pp. 17-8.
[4] Ibid., pp. 17-8.

3. He goes further and asserts that there was little confidence in the reliability of the transmitters of *Ḥadīth* in general, taking Abū Hurayrah, the Companion of the Prophet, as an example of this alleged unreliability,

> "The possibilities which the Muslims admit themselves in this field are evident from a tradition in which the authorities seem to give away the secret quite unconsciously: 'The Prophet,' it says in a tradition in al-Bukhārī, 'gave the order to kill all dogs except hunting and sheep-dogs.' 'Umar's son was told that Abū Hurayra also hands down the words: 'but with the exception of farm dogs as well.' 'Umar's son says to this: 'Abū Hurayra owns cornfields,' i.e. he has a vested interest in handing down the order with the addition that farm dogs should be spared as well. This remark of Ibn 'Umar is characteristic of the doubt about the good faith of the transmitters that existed even in the earliest period of the formation of tradition."[5]

4. One of Goldziher's challenges to the authenticity of the traditions is based on his assessment of the position of Abū Hurayrah as an authority. Goldziher says,

> "The inexhaustible stock of information which he always had in hand (the Abū Hurayrah *Ḥadīths* take up no less than 213 pages in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 228-541), appears to have raised suspicion of their trustworthiness in the minds of his immediate auditors nor did they hesitate to give utterance to their suspicions in ironical form (comp. Also Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-aṣḥāb*, No. 11). He had several times to defend himself against the charge of idle talk. These facts give our criticism every reason to be prudent and sceptic."[6]

---

[5] Ibid., 2, p. 56.
[6] *EI*[1], art. *Abū Huraira.*

SECTION 2

THE ALLEGED FABRICATION OF MU'ĀWIYAH IBN ABĪ SUFYĀN AND AL-MUGHĪRAH IBN SHU'BAH

Goldziher says,

> "Official influence on the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions started very early. An instruction given to his obedient governor al-Mughīrah by Mu'āwiyah I is in the spirit of the Umayyads: 'Do not tire of abusing and insulting 'Alī and calling for God's mercifulness for 'Uthmān, defaming the companions of 'Alī, removing them and omitting to listen to them (i.e. to what they tell and propagate as *ḥadīths*); praising, in contrast, the clan of 'Uthmān, drawing them near to you and listening to them.' [citing: al-Ṭabarī, II, p. 112.] This is an official encouragement to foster the rise and spread of *ḥadīths* directed against 'Alī and to hold back and suppress *ḥadīths* favouring 'Alī."[7]

In the statement under discussion Goldziher plainly names the Companions whom he alleges to have fabricated *ḥadīth*, i.e. Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah. We shall assess this allegation by examining the following:

A. The use of the text itself as a criterion;

B. the reaction of various observers to the disparagement of 'Alī and his companions;

C. the accounts of this issue made by various historians;

D. Mu'āwiyah's stance regarding 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib;

E. Mu'āwiyah and al-Mughīrah's attitudes towards the fabrication of *ḥadīth*.

[7] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 44.

First of all, it is useful to subject to close analysis the evidence put forward by Goldziher and to present the original narration cited by him in translation, in the original Arabic as narrated by al-Ṭabarī. The narration runs as follows:

إن معاوية ابن أبي سفيان لَمّا وَلّى المغيرة ابن شعبة الكوفة –في جمادى سنة إحدى وأربعين– دعاه، فحمد الله وأثنى عليه ثم قال: "... وقد أردتُ إِيصاءك بأشياء كثيرة، فأنا تاركها اعتماداً على بصرك بما يرضيني، ويُسعد سُلطاني، ويُصلح به رعيتي، ولست تاركاً إِيصاءك بخصلةٍ: لاتتحمّ عن شتم عليٍ وذمه، والترحم على عثمان والاستغفار له، والعيبِ على أصحاب علي، والإقصاء لهم، وترك الاستماع منهم، ويإطراء شيعة عثمان رضوان الله عليه، والإدناء لهم، والاستماع منهم ... ."

When Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān put al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah in charge of al-Kūfah in Jumādā[8] 41 [AH], he summoned him. After praising and glorifying Allāh, he said, "... Although I have wanted to advise you about many things, I left them alone, trusting in your discernment of what pleases me, what helps my regime and what sets my subjects on the right path. I would continue to advise you about a quality of yours -do not refrain from abusing 'Alī and criticizing him, nor from asking Allāh's mercy upon 'Uthmān and His forgiveness for him. Continue to shame the companions of 'Alī, keep them at a distance, and do not listen to them. Praise the faction of 'Uthmān, bring them near, and listen to them."[9]

According to the text just mentioned, we do not find any trace of the word *ḥadīth* or its plural form *aḥādīth,* and there is nothing to suggest the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions whether officially or unofficially. As for

[8] The fifth month of the Muslim calendar.
[9] Ṭabarī, vol. 6, pp. 168-70.

the expression "وَتَرْكَ الاسْتِمَاعِ مِنْهُمْ (and do not listen to them)," it does not specifically indicate that al-Mughīrah should suppress the Prophetic *ḥadīths* narrated by the companions of 'Alī, or even that he should not listen to them. This was an instruction that referred to the counsel and opinions of the companions of 'Alī, and does not refer specifically to the Prophetic *ḥadīths* narrated by them. It is more plausible that what Mu'āwiyah intended was that al-Mughīrah should listen to the advice and opinions of the companions of 'Uthmān, and not to those put forward to him by the companions of 'Alī. This was a natural inclination for Mu'āwiyah since governmental policy tends to favour supporters while exercising caution regarding opponents. This policy is very much more understandable when we take into account the feud between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah which ultimately resulted in an armed conflict. Even if we suppose that the expression came in the form, "وَتَرْكَ الاسْتِمَاعِ لأَحَادِيثِهِمْ (and do not listen to their *ḥadīths*)," it is evident that the word *ḥadīth* in this context does not necessarily refer to anything other than the speech and opinions of 'Alī's companions.

The implication of Goldziher's statement is that not listening to the followers of 'Alī meant 'deliberately suppressing' Prophetic *ḥadīths* in favour of 'Alī and disseminating Prophetic *ḥadīths* in favor of 'Uthmān. Even if this is accepted, although it would provide marginal evidence for the suppression of *ḥadīths* in favour of 'Alī, it is not evidence for the invention of *ḥadīths*.

Al-Ṭabarī's narration itself indicates that al-Mughīrah acted according to Mu'āwiyah's recommendation that he disparage 'Alī and his companions. The narration, however, does not indicate that al-Mughīrah rejected their *ḥadīths*, or banned or fabricated *ḥadīths* against 'Alī. In addition, al-Mughīrah's disparagement of 'Alī and his companions was unacceptable to a large number of Kūfah's residents. Ḥujr b. 'Adī, as recorded by al-Ṭabarī in the same source, repeatedly attacked al-Mughīrah in public, saying, "Indeed, Allāh, Almighty and Great, says, 'Stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allāh' (Q. 4:135). I testify that the one you disparage and gibe is more deserving of merit, and the one you vindicate and extol is more entitled to blame."[10]

The narration also reveals that this situation had continued for a long period, "At the end of his governorship, al-Mughīrah arose and said what he used to say about 'Alī and 'Uthmān.[11] At that, Ḥujr b. 'Adī jumped up and let out a scream at al-Mughīrah that everyone both inside and outside the mosque heard. He then said, 'You certainly do not understand what men burn for because of your senility, O man. Order our rations and stipends for us, for you have certainly withheld them from us, and that is not your right, and no one who preceded you has desired that. You have become passionate about blaming the Commander of the Faithful and praising the criminals.' At that, more than two-thirds of the people stood up with him saying, 'By

---

[10] Ibid., p. 169.

[11] "O God, have mercy on 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and do not punish him, but reward him for his best work. For, indeed, he acted according to Your Book and the example [*sunnah*] of Your Prophet. He united us and prevented our blood from being shed, and yet, he was wrongly killed. O God, have

Allāh, Ḥujr is right and honest. Order our rations and stipends for us, for this talk of yours does not do us any good, and it gives us nothing profitable.' And they increased in this kind of talk. At that, al-Mughīrah descended [from the pulpit]."[12]

When we bear in mind that more than two-thirds of those in attendance objected to al-Mughīrah's disparaging remarks about 'Alī, it would have provoked a confrontation if they had come to know that he had fabricated *ḥadīth* against 'Alī or suppressed *ḥadīth* that were in his favour. Indeed, if that had been the case then we would expect to find at least some evidence indicating that 'Alī and his companions had confronted that trend by, if not fabricating *ḥadīths* against the other party, then by rejecting and discrediting the fabricated *ḥadīths*. However, on the contrary, we find that, as recorded by Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895) in ***al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl***, when it was revealed to 'Alī that Ḥujr b. 'Adī and 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq were publicly abusing Mu'āwiyah and cursing the people of al-Shām, he sent an envoy to tell them to stop what they were doing. They subsequently came to him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, are we not in the right and they are in the wrong?" He said, "Yes, indeed by the Lord of the Ka'bah." They then said, "Why then do you prevent us from abusing and cursing them?" He said, "I hated that you become a people who constantly abuse others and curse them. You should rather say: O Allāh preserve our lives and theirs, reconcile us with one another, and guide them to the

---

mercy also on his adherents, supporters, friends, and those who seek vengeance for him." He would also call for 'Uthmān's murderers [to be punished].

[12] Ṭabarī, vol. 6, pp. 169-70.

right path so that those who were ignorant of the truth should come to know it and those who have strayed far into evil should repent."[13]

It is inconceivable that Mu'āwiyah and the governors that he had appointed would have compromised their position and subjected themselves to disgrace by forging or fabricating Prophetic *ḥadīths* against 'Alī or anybody else. If they had, they would have undoubtedly been perceived as liars by the Companions of the Prophet and the Muslim community in general, mainly because they were bound to be accused by the opposing party. Goldziher also fails to show us where these alleged invented *ḥadīths* against 'Alī appear in the core Islamic texts.

It is noteworthy that Mu'āwiyah himself did not deny the virtues of 'Alī, as is clear from the following narration: "When the people of al-Shām decided to support Mu'āwiyah, Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī came to Mu'āwiyah with a number of dedicated worshippers and said to him, 'O Mu'āwiyah, we were told that you were about to declare war against 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. How do you oppose him while you do not have the virtues which he has?' Mu'āwiyah said to them, 'I do not allege that I have the virtues which he has. However, do you not know that 'Uthmān was wrongfully killed?' They said, 'Yes.' He then said, ''Alī should therefore hand over to us his assassins, at which point we would offer him our allegiance as caliph.'"[14] Moreover, on reading the accounts of the historians, (such as, ***Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, al-***

[13] *Ṭiwāl*, p. 165.
[14] Ibid., p. 162.

Akhbār al-ṭiwāl, Tārīkh Khalīfah Ibn Khayāṭ[15] and others), we will find that the main area of contention between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah was as follows: Mu'āwiyah refused to pledge allegiance to the caliphate of 'Alī until 'Alī had surrendered the assassins of 'Uthmān. This conflict did not require, at the stage in question at least, that certain *ḥadīths* should be fabricated against 'Alī or certain *ḥadīths* in his favour should be suppressed.

In addition, Mu'āwiyah did not deny 'Alī's eminent status as a judge; indeed in one instance, when he was at a loss regarding a specific case, he sought the opinion of 'Alī though he did so indirectly, "Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib reported that a man from Syria (Ibn Khaybarī) found a man with his wife and killed him or killed them both. Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān found the case hard to decide. He wrote to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī requesting him to refer the matter to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Abū Mūsā enquired of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who replied, 'This incident has not happened in my land. I adjure you to speak the truth and tell me where it happened.' Abū Mūsā said, 'Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān has written asking me to refer the case to you.' 'Alī said, 'I am Abū al-Ḥasan. If four witnesses are not brought, he should be headed.'"[16]

In conclusion, we can say that the text cited by Goldziher in no way substantiates his opinion that official involvement in the invention, dissemination and

---

[15] By Khalīfah Ibn Khayāṭ al-Laythī (d. 240/854). Ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-'Umarī. 2nd edn. Damascus & Beirut: Dār al-Qalam & Mu'asasat al-Risālah, 1397/1976.
[16] Mālik, k. *al-Aqḍiyah*, ḥ. no. 1447. It is well-known that 'Alī was the most knowledgeable regarding the *ḥadīths* that deal with judicial questions. See Part 1, Chapter 2, p. 79.

suppression of traditions began early. In fact, the whole issue consists of no more than a series of disparaging remarks which do not substantiate the degree of invention or suppression of Prophetic *ḥadīths* that Goldziher alleges. There is no evidence given that certain *ḥadīths* were fabricated against 'Alī or that certain *ḥadīths* in his favour were suppressed.

SECTION 3

THE ALLEGED FABRICATION OF 'ABD ALLĀH IBN MAS'ŪD

Goldziher says,

> "'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd says: 'The most beautiful ḥadīth is the book of Allāh, and the best guidance is that of Muhammed' [citing: B. *I'tiṣām*, no. 2]. It seems that this statement, which was gladly taken up and widely disseminated by the community of the faithful, was ascribed to Muhammed himself by making him say, in an exhortation to the community: 'The most beautiful ḥadīth is the book of Allāh; blessed is he whose heart is adorned therewith by Allāh, he whom He has permitted to be converted to Islam from unbelief, and he who prefers it to all other ḥadīths of man. Verily, it is the most beautiful and perfect ḥadīth [citing: Ibn Hishām, p. 340]."[17]

In the footnote he says,

> "In later days it was found objectionable that the Koran should be called ḥadīth and in this sentence ḥadīth was altered to *kalām* (speech) [citing: Ibn Māja, p. 8]."[18]

Despite the fact that Goldziher did not directly accuse 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd of inventing this statement, the reader is led to believe that this is the case from the sequence in which he presents his information. This is made particularly clear when we bear in mind two factors; the first is that that there is no other name mentioned; and the second is that the *ḥadīth* that Goldziher cites from Ibn Mājah in the second quotation cited above shows that Ibn Mas'ūd ascribed the statement to the Prophet.

[17] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 17-8.
[18] Ibid., p. 18, footnote no. 4.

Therefore, it is useful to discuss this issue in order to ascertain whether the statement in question belongs to him or to the Prophet, before proceeding any further.

As far as the narration cited by Goldziher is concerned, we find that Ibn Mas‘ūd did not, in fact, attribute that statement to himself. Indeed, we do not find a single testimony from any individual indicating that Ibn Mas‘ūd attributed it to himself. The narrator of the *ḥadīth*, Murrah al-Hamadānī, simply stated, "‘Abd Allāh said..."[19] Furthermore, in another narration Ibn Mas‘ūd clearly states that he heard the statement from the Prophet himself, as is clear from al-Dārimī's narration. Bilād b. ‘Iṣmah said, "I heard ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd saying, ‘When it was Thursday evening, and through to Friday night, the Prophet used to stand up and say, ‘The most truthful saying is Allāh's saying, and the best guidance is that of Muḥammad ... ’’"[20].

In this regard, an important question poses itself; why did Ibn Mas‘ūd not clearly indicate that this statement was from the Prophet? The answer to this question lies in a significant fact related to the Companions' transmission of the Prophet's *ḥadīths*: – in narrating the *ḥadīth*, the Companion may or may not mention the Prophet's name. In the first instance the *ḥadīth* is designated as *marfū‘* (the Prophet's name is explicit, i.e. saying traced back to the Prophet) and in the second it is *mawqūf* (the Prophet's name is implicit, i.e. saying traced back to Companions)

---

[19] Bukhārī, k. *al-I‘tiṣām bi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 7277:
حَدَّثَنَا آدَمُ بْنُ أَبِي إِيَاسٍ حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ أَخْبَرَنَا عَمْرُو بْنُ مُرَّةَ سَمِعْتُ مُرَّةَ الْهَمْدَانِيَّ يَقُولُ قَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ: "إِنَّ أَحْسَنَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللَّهِ، وَأَحْسَنَ الْهَدْيِ هَدْيُ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَشَرَّ الْأُمُورِ مُحْدَثَاتُهَا ..."

according to the terminology of the scholars of *Ḥadīth*. Indeed, there are reasons for the Prophet's name not being explicitly mentioned. Ibn Mas'ūd may well have mentioned the *ḥadīth* in question intending to educate, exhort or as a reply to a question. In addition, this *ḥadīth* was well known and widespread among the Companions, as Goldziher himself indicates, and therefore, Ibn Mas'ūd did not need, when reminding them of this *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, to say, "The Prophet said."

There is another convincing reason for Ibn Mas'ūd to keep the Prophet's name implicit. The first words of this *ḥadīth* are those which are customarily used to introduce or begin a statement or sermon, and therefore, there was no need for him to explicitly mention the Prophet's name. Ibn Mas'ūd's narration from al-Dārimī, which has been mentioned previously, also indicates that the Prophet used to regularly stand up among his Companions on that specific night and repeat that specific statement. This is further confirmed by the *ḥadīth* narrated by Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, where he says, "The Prophet used to say in his *khuṭbah* ..., 'The most beautiful *ḥadīth* is the book of Allāh, and the best guidance is that of Muḥammad ... '"[21].

The *ḥadīth* narrated by Ibn Mas'ūd is more akin to the *khuṭbat al-ḥājah* (the sermon that is given in case of need) which the Prophet used to teach his

---

[20] Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, ḥ. no. 207.

[21] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 14022:
حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى عَنْ جَعْفَرٍ حَدَّثَنِي أَبِي عَنْ جَابِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَ يَقُولُ فِي خُطْبَتِهِ بَعْدَ التَّشَهُّدِ:
"إِنَّ أَحْسَنَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، وَأَحْسَنَ الْهَدْيِ هَدْيُ مُحَمَّدٍ ..."

Companions.[22] When relating it, the Companions did not need to say at the beginning, "The Prophet said (such and such)," thus, Goldziher's claim that Ibn Isḥāq's statement, which was mentioned by Ibn Hishām in his book, was falsely attributed to the Prophet is erroneous. The truth of the matter is that it was made by the Prophet himself. This is particularly evident in light of the fact that Ibn Mas'ūd was not the only Companion who narrated this *ḥadīth* from the Prophet; Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh also did so.[23]

In support of his view on the development of *ḥadīth*, Goldziher says, "In later days it was found objectionable that the Qur'ān should be called *ḥadīth* and in this sentence *ḥadīth* was altered to *kalām* (speech)."[24] Goldziher then refers the reader to Ibn Mājah's book. If we refer to Ibn Mājah's statement, we do not find anything to indicate or suggest the alteration process Goldziher is talking about. Also, we do not find anything to suggest that any body objected to the Qur'ān being called *ḥadīth*. The narration simply states that 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd, on the authority of the Prophet, said, "Verily, there are two things; *al-kalām* (the speech) and the guidance. The most beautiful speech is the speech of Allāh (*fa-aḥsanu al-kalāmi kalāmu Allāh*), and the best guidance is that of Muḥammad ... ."[25] If we take the element of chronology into consideration, we find that Ibn Isḥāq's statement (d. 151/768), which is cited in Ibn Hishām's book, in which the Qur'ān is referred to as '*ḥadīth*,'

[22] Dāwūd, k. *al-Nikāḥ*, bā. no. 33, ḥ. no. 2118.
[23] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 13924, 14022 & 14566; Muslim, k. *al-Jumu'ah*, bā. no. 13, ḥ. no. 867; Nasā'ī, k. *Ṣalāt al-'Īdayn*, bā. no. 22, ḥ. no. 1578; Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, ḥ. no. 45.
[24] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 18, footnote no. 4.

came at a very early stage, while Ibn Mājah (d. 275/888), uses the word '*kalām*'.[26] Thus, according to Goldziher the later use of the word '*kalām*', in description of the Qur'an, instead of '*ḥadīth,*' constitutes an objection to the use of the word '*ḥadīth*' in this context. This can be shown to be erroneous due to the following considerations:

First: In Ibn Isḥāq's narration itself, which is cited by Goldziher, we find that the Qur'ān is also described as *kalām*. However, Goldziher cites the first part of the narration and disregards the second part, which runs as follows:

"... أحبوا ما أحب الله، أحبوا الله من كل قلوبكم، ولا تملُّوا كلام الله وذكرَه، ولا تَقْسُ عنه قلوبكـــم...
".

"... Love what Allāh loves. Love Allāh with all your hearts, and weary not of the speech of Allāh (*wa lā tamallū kalāma Allāhi*) and its mention (*wa dhikrahu*). Harden not your hearts from it ... ."[27]

Second: In the books compiled by a number of the scholars of *Ḥadīth* who died after Ibn Mājah, we find that the Qur'ān is described as *ḥadīth*. For instance, Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, who died 12 years after Ibn Mājah, cites the *ḥadīth* with the following wording, "The most gracious *ḥadīth* is the Book of Almighty Allāh and the most

---

[25] Ibn Mājah, *al-Muqaddimah*, ḥ. no. 46.

[26] Ibn Mājah himself narrated the same *ḥadīth*, in the same text, without mentioning the word '*kalām*.' Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh narrated that the Prophet used to say in his *khuṭbah*, "The most excellent thing is the book of Allāh (*khayra al-umūri kitābu Allāh*) and the best guidance is Muḥammad's guidance ..." (Ibn Mājah, *al- Muqaddimah*, ḥ. no. 45). If it were Ibn Mājah who made the alteration in the narration cited by Goldziher then he would also have made the same alteration in the *ḥadīth* narrated by Jābir in order to confirm and establish the meaning he had intended.

[27] Hishām 1, vol. 1, p. 501.

gracious guidance is that of Muḥammad ... ."[28] Also, al-Nasā'ī, who died 28 years after Ibn Mājah, records two *ḥadīths* which were narrated by Jābir, the first of which is worded, "The most beautiful speech is the speech of Allāh, and the best guidance is that of Muḥammed,"[29] and the second of which is worded, "The most truthful *ḥadīth* is the book of Allāh, and the best guidance is that of Muḥammad ... ."[30] Furthermore, al-Bayhaqī, who died 138 years after Ibn Mājah, mentions the narration with the wording, "The most gracious *ḥadīth* is the Book of Allāh ... ."[31] If Goldziher's claim were true, then it would follow that all of these narrations ought to have disappeared, or that we would at least find an objection from the scholars of *Ḥadīth* to the Qur'ān being referred to as *ḥadīth*.

Third: Why should a Muslim object to the Qur'ān being described as *ḥadīth* when the verses of the Qur'ān in which the Qur'ān is referred to as '*ḥadīth*' are greater in number than those in which it is referred to as '*kalām*'?

The Qur'ān is described as *kalām* in only two verses:

﴿وَإِنْ أَحَدٌ مِّنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ اسْتَجَارَكَ فَأَجِرْهُ حَتَّىٰ يَسْمَعَ كَلَامَ اللَّهِ ثُمَّ أَبْلِغْهُ مَأْمَنَهُ ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ لَّا يَعْلَمُونَ﴾

"And if anyone of the idolaters seeks your protection then grant him protection so that he may hear *kalāma* Allāh, and then escort him to where he can be secure, that is because they are a folk who know not." (Q. 9:6)

[28] *Al-Sunnah*, vol. 1, p. 16, ḥ. no. 24.
[29] Nasā'ī, k. *al-Sahw*, bā. no. 63, ḥ. no. 1311.
[30] Nasā'ī, k. *Ṣalāt al-'Īdayn*, bā. no. 22, ḥ. no. 1578.
[31] Bayhaqī, vol. 3, 206, ḥ. no. 5544.

﴿سَيَقُولُ الْمُخَلَّفُونَ إِذَا انطَلَقْتُمْ إِلَى مَغَانِمَ لِتَأْخُذُوهَا ذَرُونَا نَتَّبِعْكُمْ يُرِيدُونَ أَن يُبَدِّلُوا كَلَامَ اللَّهِ قُل لَّن
تَتَّبِعُونَا كَذَٰلِكُمْ قَالَ اللَّهُ مِن قَبْلُ . . .﴾

"Those who lagged behind will say, when you set forth to capture booty (in war), 'Allow us to follow you.' They want to change *kalāma* Allāh. Say: 'You shall not follow us; thus Allāh has said beforehand.' ..." (Q. 48:15)

The Qur'ān is described as *ḥadīth* in many verses, of which the following are examples:

﴿اللَّهُ لَا إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ لَيَجْمَعَنَّكُمْ إِلَىٰ يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ لَا رَيْبَ فِيهِ وَمَنْ أَصْدَقُ مِنَ اللَّهِ حَدِيثًا﴾

"There is no god but Allāh. Surely, He will gather you together on the Day of Resurrection about which there is no doubt. And who is truer in *ḥadīth* than Allah?" (Q. 4:87)

﴿أَوَلَمْ يَنظُرُوا فِي مَلَكُوتِ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ مِن شَيْءٍ وَأَنْ عَسَىٰ أَن يَكُونَ
قَدِ اقْتَرَبَ أَجَلُهُمْ فَبِأَيِّ حَدِيثٍ بَعْدَهُ يُؤْمِنُونَ﴾

"Do they not look in the dominion of the heavens and the earth and all things that Allāh has created, and that it may be that the end of their lives is near. In what *ḥadīth* after this will they then believe?" (Q. 7:185)

﴿لَقَدْ كَانَ فِي قَصَصِهِمْ عِبْرَةٌ لِّأُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ مَا كَانَ حَدِيثًا يُفْتَرَىٰ وَلَٰكِن تَصْدِيقَ الَّذِي بَيْنَ
يَدَيْهِ وَتَفْصِيلَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةً لِّقَوْمٍ يُؤْمِنُونَ﴾

"Indeed in their stories, there is a lesson for men of understanding. It (the Qur'ān) is not a forged *ḥadīth* but a confirmation of the existing Books and a detailed explanation of everything and a Guide and a Mercy for people who believe." (Q. 12:111)

﴿فَلَعَلَّكَ بَاخِعٌ نَّفْسَكَ عَلَىٰ آثَارِهِمْ إِن لَّمْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِهَٰذَا الْحَدِيثِ أَسَفًا﴾

"Perhaps, you, would kill yourself (O Muḥammad) in grief, over their footsteps (for their turning away from you), because they believe not in this *Ḥadīth*." (Q. 18:6)

﴿اللَّهُ نَزَّلَ أَحْسَنَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابًا مُّتَشَابِهًا مَّثَانِيَ تَقْشَعِرُّ مِنْهُ جُلُودُ الَّذِينَ يَخْشَوْنَ رَبَّهُمْ ثُمَّ تَلِينُ جُلُودُهُمْ
وَقُلُوبُهُمْ إِلَىٰ ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ ذَٰلِكَ هُدَى اللَّهِ يَهْدِي بِهِ مَن يَشَاءُ وَمَن يُضْلِلِ اللَّهُ فَمَا لَهُ مِنْ هَادٍ﴾

"Allāh has sent down the best *ḥadīth*, a Book (this Qur'ān), its parts resembling each other in goodness and truth... ." (Q. 39:23)

﴿فَلْيَأْتُوا بِحَدِيثٍ مِّثْلِهِ إِن كَانُوا صَادِقِينَ﴾

"Let them then produce a *ḥadith* like unto it (the Qur'ān) if they are truthful." (Q. 52:34)

﴿أَفَمِنْ هَٰذَا الْحَدِيثِ تَعْجَبُونَ﴾

"Do you then wonder at this *ḥadith* (the Qur'ān)?" (Q. 53:59)

﴿أَفَبِهَٰذَا الْحَدِيثِ أَنتُم مُّدْهِنُونَ﴾

"Is it this *ḥadīth* (Qur'ān) that you (disbelievers) deny?" (Q. 56:81)

﴿فَذَرْنِي وَمَن يُكَذِّبُ بِهَٰذَا الْحَدِيثِ سَنَسْتَدْرِجُهُم مِّنْ حَيْثُ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ﴾

"Then leave Me Alone with such as reject this *ḥadīth* (the Qur'ān). We shall punish them gradually from directions they perceive not." (Q. 68:44)

﴿فَبِأَيِّ حَدِيثٍ بَعْدَهُ يُؤْمِنُونَ﴾

"Then in what *ḥadīth* after this (the Qur'ān) will they believe?" (Q. 77:50)

Fourth: There is no difference between the word '*ḥadīth*' and the word '*kalām*' in the context of this narration; their meanings are interchangeable. For instance, in the following Qur'anic verses we find the word '*ḥadīth*' retaining an identical significance to that of '*kalām*':

﴿وَقَدْ نَزَّلَ عَلَيْكُمْ فِي الْكِتَابِ أَنْ إِذَا سَمِعْتُمْ آيَاتِ اللَّهِ يُكْفَرُ بِهَا وَيُسْتَهْزَأُ بِهَا فَلَا تَقْعُدُوا مَعَهُمْ حَتَّىٰ يَخُوضُوا فِي حَدِيثٍ غَيْرِهِ إِنَّكُمْ إِذًا مِّثْلُهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ جَامِعُ الْمُنَافِقِينَ وَالْكَافِرِينَ فِي جَهَنَّمَ جَمِيعًا﴾

"And it has already been revealed to you in the Book (this Qur'ān) that when you hear the Verses of Allāh being denied and mocked at, then sit not with them, until they engage in a *ḥadīth* (speech) other than that... ." (Q. 4:140)

﴿وَإِذَا رَأَيْتَ الَّذِينَ يَخُوضُونَ فِي آيَاتِنَا فَأَعْرِضْ عَنْهُمْ حَتَّىٰ يَخُوضُوا فِي حَدِيثٍ غَيْرِهِ وَإِمَّا يُنسِيَنَّكَ الشَّيْطَانُ فَلَا تَقْعُدْ بَعْدَ الذِّكْرَىٰ مَعَ الْقَوْمِ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾

"And when you (Muḥammad) see those who engage in a false conversation about Our Verses (of the Qur'ān) by mocking at them, stay away from them till they turn to another *ḥadīth* (speech)... ." (Q. 6:68)

﴿وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يَشْتَرِي لَهْوَ الْحَدِيثِ لِيُضِلَّ عَن سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ وَيَتَّخِذَهَا هُزُوًا أُولَٰئِكَ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ
مُّهِينٌ﴾

"And of mankind is he who purchases idle *ḥadīth* (speech) to mislead (men) from the Path of Allāh without knowledge, and takes it (the Path of Allāh, the Verses of the Qur'ān) by way of mockery... ." (Q. 31:6)

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَدْخُلُوا بُيُوتَ النَّبِيِّ إِلَّا أَن يُؤْذَنَ لَكُمْ إِلَىٰ طَعَامٍ غَيْرَ نَاظِرِينَ إِنَاهُ وَلَٰكِنْ إِذَا
دُعِيتُمْ فَادْخُلُوا فَإِذَا طَعِمْتُمْ فَانتَشِرُوا وَلَا مُسْتَأْنِسِينَ لِحَدِيثٍ إِنَّ ذَٰلِكُمْ كَانَ يُؤْذِي النَّبِيَّ فَيَسْتَحْيِي
مِنكُمْ وَاللَّهُ لَا يَسْتَحْيِي مِنَ الْحَقِّ﴾

"O you who believe! Enter not the Prophet's houses, except when leave is given to you for a meal, (and then) not (so early as) to wait for its preparation. But when you are invited, enter, and when you have taken your meal, disperse, without sitting for a *ḥadīth* (conversation). Verily, such (behaviour) annoys the Prophet, and he is shy of (asking) you (to go), but Allāh is not shy of (telling you) the truth... ." (Q. 33:53)

﴿وَإِذْ أَسَرَّ النَّبِيُّ إِلَىٰ بَعْضِ أَزْوَاجِهِ حَدِيثًا فَلَمَّا نَبَّأَتْ بِهِ وَأَظْهَرَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ عَرَّفَ بَعْضَهُ وَأَعْرَضَ عَن بَعْضٍ فَلَمَّا
نَبَّأَهَا بِهِ قَالَتْ مَنْ أَنبَأَكَ هَٰذَا قَالَ نَبَّأَنِيَ الْعَلِيمُ الْخَبِيرُ﴾

"And (remember) when the Prophet disclosed a *ḥadith* (speech) in confidence to one of his wives, so when she told it (to another), and Allāh made it known to him, he informed part thereof and left a part. Then when he told her thereof, she said: 'Who told you this?' He said: 'The All-Knower, the All-Aware (Allāh) has told me.'" (Q. 66:3)

Fifth: The existence of narrations with the wording, 'the most beautiful *ḥadīth*,' and with the wording, 'the most beautiful *kalām*,' is mainly due to the numerous narrations given by the Prophet on various occasions[32] of the *ḥadīth* in question. The Prophet used to mention it at the beginning of his *khuṭbas*, as was narrated by Ibn

---

[32] See Section 8 of Chapter 2: 'The Prophet's teaching of the *Sunnah* to his Companions.'

Mas'ūd[33] and Jābir.[34] The Prophet may have said, 'the most beautiful *ḥadīth*' on one occasion and, 'the most beautiful *kalām*' on another, or he may have used both on the same occasion,[35] as is the case in Ibn Hishām's narration which is referred to by Goldziher, but which he does not cite in its entirety. For this reason we find that even the word '*aḥsan*' (the most beautiful) in the expression '*aḥsan al-ḥadīth*' appeared in other forms. For instance, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrates this *ḥadīth* from the Prophet in three forms:

"إِنَّ أَحْسَنَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللّٰهِ..."

"The most beautiful *ḥadīth* is the book of Allāh... ."[36]

"فَإِنَّ أَصْدَقَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللّٰهِ..."

"The most truthful *ḥadīth* is the book of Allāh... ."[37]

"إِنَّ خَيْرَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللّٰهِ..."

"The most gracious *ḥadīth* is the Book of Allāh... ."[38]

All of these expressions are intended to convey the unique status of the Qur'ān.

Sixth: The wording 'the most beautiful *ḥadīth*' and the wording 'the most beautiful *kalām*,' are found from Ibn Mas'ūd in an early source, i.e. the ***Kitāb al-Jāmi'*** of Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid who died in 151 AH:

The first *ḥadīth* is cited as follows:

---

[33] See above, p. 185.
[34] See above p. 186.
[35] The person who delivers the sermon should be able to select words and expressions which are stimulating for the audience.
[36] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 14022.
[37] Ibid., ḥ. no. 13924. See also Nasā'ī, k. *Ṣalāt al-'Īdayn*, bā. no. 22, ḥ. no. 1578.

عَنْ ابْنِ مَسْعُودٍ قَالَ: "إِنَّمَا هُمَا اثْنَتَانِ: الْهَدْيُ وَالْكَلَامُ، فَأَحْسَنُ الْكَلَامِ كَلَامُ اللَّهِ، وَأَحْسَنُ الْهَدْيِ هَدْيُ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهم عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ..."

"Verily, there are two things; *al-kalām* (the speech) and the guidance. The most beautiful speech is the speech of Allāh, and the best guidance is that of Muḥammad ... ."[39]

The second *ḥadīth* is cited as follows:

قَالَ ابْنِ مَسْعُودٍ: "... أَصْدَقُ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللَّهِ وَأَحْسَنُ الْهَدْيِ هَدْيُ مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهم عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ..."

"The most truthful *ḥadīth* is the book of Allāh, and the best guidance is that of Muḥammad ... ."[40]

Thus, in the light of the above evidence we find it difficult to accept Goldziher's argument.

---

[38] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 14566. See also Muslim, k. *al-Jumu'ah*, bā. no. 13, ḥ. no. 867
[39] *Al-Jāmi'*, vol. 11, p. 117, ḥ. no. 20076.
[40] Ibid., p. 159, ḥ. no. 20198.

SECTION 4

THE ALLEGED FABRICATION OF ABŪ HURAYRAH

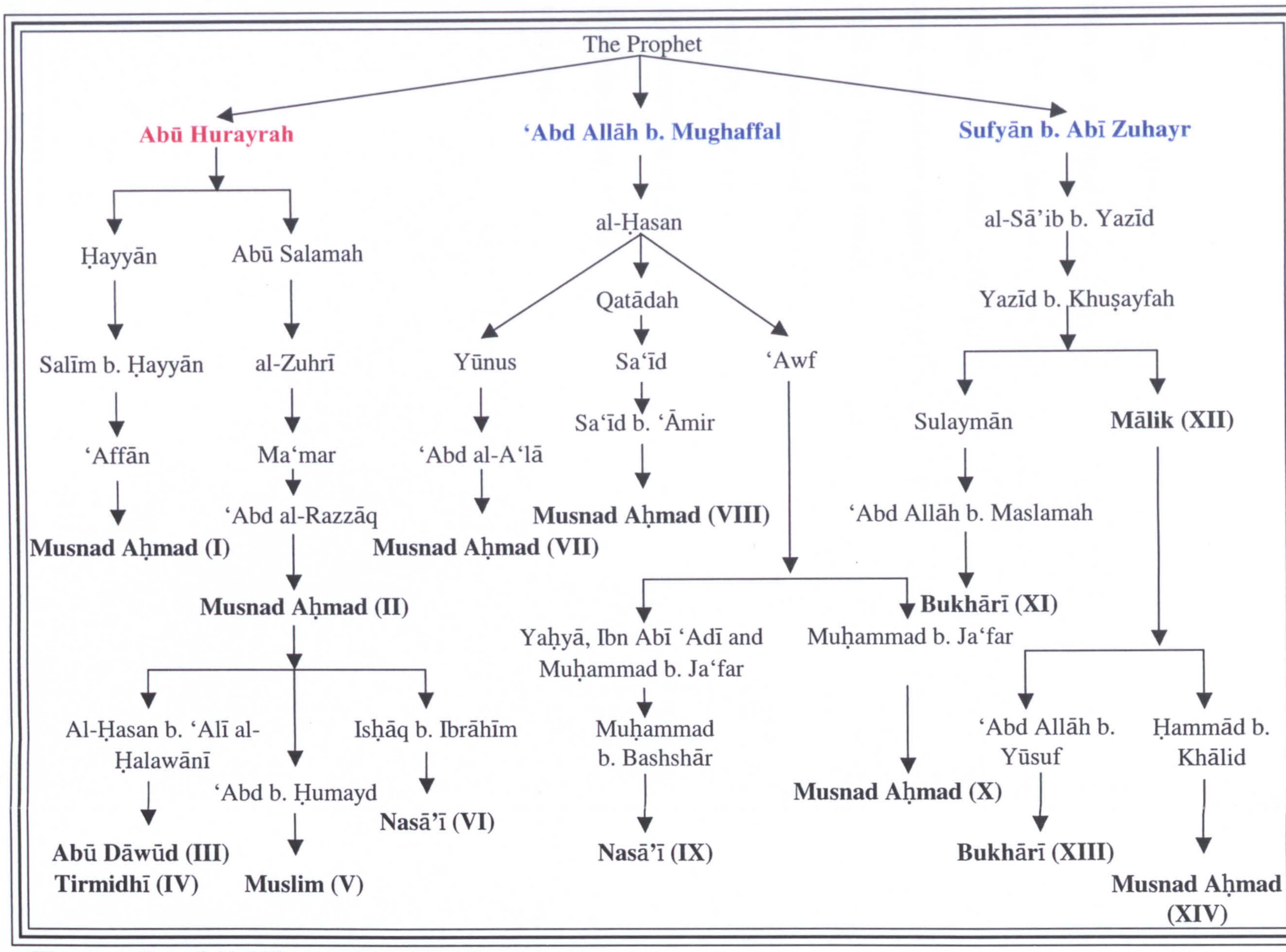
Goldziher said,

> "The possibilities which the Muslims admit themselves in this field are evident from a tradition in which the authorities seem to give away the secret quite unconsciously: 'The Prophet,' it says in a tradition in al-Bukhārī, [citing: *Ṣayd*, no. 6; cf. *Ḥarth*, no. 3; al-Tirmidhī, I, p. 281, 17.] 'gave the order to kill all dogs except hunting and sheep-dogs.' 'Umar's son was told that Abū Hurayra also hands down the words: 'but with the exception of farm dogs as well.' 'Umar's son says to this: 'Abū Hurayra owns cornfields,' i.e. he has a vested interest in handing down the order with the addition that farm dogs should be spared as well. This remark of Ibn 'Umar is characteristic of the doubt about the good faith of the transmitters that existed even in the earliest period of the formation of tradition."[41]

First: Farm dogs, along with hunting and sheep dogs, were not only reported as excluded by Abū Hurayrah but also by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughaffal and Sufyān b. Abī Zuhayr through different chains of transmission. The following chart illustrates this.

[41] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 56.

"He who kept a dog which is neither used for farmwork nor for guarding the livestock nor for hunting would lose one *qirāṭ* (of the reward) of his good deeds everyday."



The narration of Abū Hurayrah:

(**I**) *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 8342.
(**II**) *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 7566.
(**III**) K. *al-Ṣayd*, bāb no. 1, ḥ. no. 2844.
(**IV**) K *al-Aḥkām wa al-fawā'id*, bāb no. 4, ḥ. no. 1489.
(**V**) K. *al-Musāqāh*, ḥ. no. 1575.
(**VI**) K. *al-Ṣayd wa al-Dhabā'iḥ*, bāb no. 14, ḥ. no. 4289.

The narration of 'Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal which excludes the killing of farm dogs as well:

(**VII**) *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 20048:
عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُغَفَّلٍ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: "لَوْلَا أَنَّ الْكِلَابَ أُمَّةٌ مِنَ الْأُمَمِ لَأَمَرْتُ بِقَتْلِهَا فَاقْتُلُوا الْأَسْوَدَ الْبَهِيمَ وَأَيُّمَا قَوْمٍ اتَّخَذُوا كَلْبًا لَيْسَ بِكَلْبِ صَيْدٍ أَوْ زَرْعٍ أَوْ مَاشِيَةٍ نَقَصَ مِنْ أُجُورِهِمْ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ قِيرَاطٌ."

(**VIII**) *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 20053:
عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُغَفَّلٍ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "مَنِ اتَّخَذَ كَلْبًا لَيْسَ بِكَلْبِ صَيْدٍ وَلَا زَرْعٍ وَلَا غَنَمٍ فَإِنَّهُ يَنْقُصُ مِنْ أَجْرِهِ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ قِيرَاطٌ."

(**IX**) K. *al-Ṣayd wa al-Dhabā'iḥ*, bāb no. 14, ḥ. no. 4288:
عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُغَفَّلٍ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "مَنِ اتَّخَذَ كَلْبًا إِلَّا كَلْبَ صَيْدٍ أَوْ مَاشِيَةٍ أَوْ زَرْعٍ نَقَصَ مِنْ أَجْرِهِ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ قِيرَاطٌ."

(**X**) *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 20045:
عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُغَفَّلٍ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "مَنِ اتَّخَذَ كَلْبًا لَيْسَ بِكَلْبِ صَيْدٍ أَوْ كَلْبِ غَنَمٍ أَوْ كَلْبِ زَرْعٍ فَإِنَّهُ يُنْتَقَصُ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ قِيرَاطٌ."

The narration of Sufyān b. Abī Zuhayr which excludes the killing of farm dogs as well:

(**XI**) K. *Bad' al-Khalq*, bāb no. 17, ḥ. no. 3325:
أَخْبَرَنِي السَّائِبُ بْنُ يَزِيدَ سَمِعَ سُفْيَانَ بْنَ أَبِي زُهَيْرٍ الشَّنَئِيَّ أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: "مَنِ اقْتَنَى كَلْبًا لَا يُغْنِي عَنْهُ زَرْعًا وَلَا ضَرْعًا نَقَصَ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ قِيرَاطٌ." فَقَالَ السَّائِبُ: "أَنْتَ سَمِعْتَ هَذَا مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟ قَالَ: "إِي وَرَبِّ هَذِهِ الْقِبْلَةِ."

(**XII**) K. *al-Jāmi'*, ḥ. no. 1807:
أَنَّ السَّائِبَ بْنَ يَزِيدَ أَخْبَرَهُ أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ سُفْيَانَ بْنَ أَبِي زُهَيْرٍ وَهُوَ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَزْدِ شَنُوءَةَ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَهُوَ يُحَدِّثُ نَاسًا مَعَهُ عِنْدَ بَابِ الْمَسْجِدِ فَقَالَ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: "مَنِ اقْتَنَى كَلْبًا لَا يُغْنِي عَنْهُ زَرْعًا وَلَا ضَرْعًا نَقَصَ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ قِيرَاطٌ." قَالَ: "أَنْتَ سَمِعْتَ هَذَا مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟ فَقَالَ: "إِي وَرَبِّ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ."

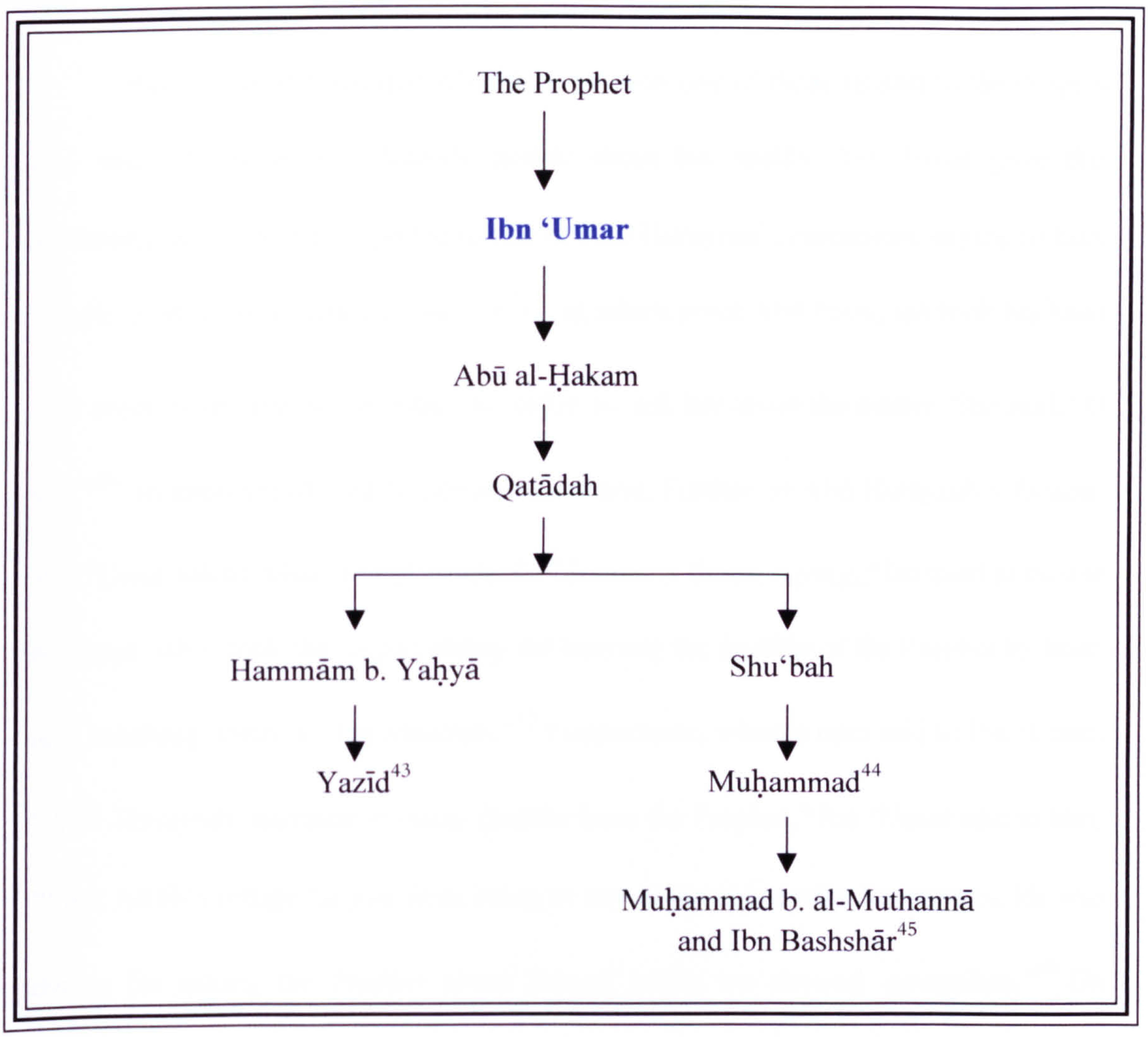
(**XIII**) K. *al-Ḥarth wa al-Muzāra'ah*, bāb no. 3, ḥ. no. 2323:
أَنَّ السَّائِبَ بْنَ يَزِيدَ حَدَّثَهُ أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ سُفْيَانَ بْنَ أَبِي زُهَيْرٍ رَجُلًا مِنْ أَزْدِ شَنُوءَةَ وَكَانَ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: "مَنِ اقْتَنَى كَلْبًا لَا يُغْنِي عَنْهُ زَرْعًا وَلَا ضَرْعًا نَقَصَ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ قِيرَاطٌ." قُلْتُ: "أَنْتَ سَمِعْتَ هَذَا مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟ قَالَ: "إِي وَرَبِّ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ."

(**XIV**) *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 21406:
عَنِ السَّائِبِ بْنِ يَزِيدَ عَنْ سُفْيَانَ بْنِ أَبِي زُهَيْرٍ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّهُ قَالَ: "مَنِ اقْتَنَى كَلْبًا لَا يُغْنِي مِنْ زَرْعٍ أَوْ ضَرْعٍ نَقَصَ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ قِيرَاطٌ.،، قَالَ السَّائِبُ فَقُلْتُ لِسُفْيَانَ: "أَنْتَ سَمِعْتَ هَذَا مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟ قَالَ: "نَعَمْ وَرَبِّ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ."

Second: What did Ibn 'Umar intend when he said, "Abū Hurayrah owns a cornfield"?

Ibn 'Umar did not intend to accuse Abū Hurayrah or cast aspersions on his narration, as is alleged by Goldziher. In fact he intended to confirm Abū Hurayrah's narration by giving the reason for Abū Hurayrah's knowledge of the statement, which was that he owned a field, and thus had a specific reason to be aware of the Prophetic stipulations regarding farming: "The Muslim traditionists, however, have explained Ibn 'Umar's remark as meaning that Abū Hurayrah, being possessed of personal experience of the subject-matter of this *ḥadīth*, was in a better position to know exactly what its wording was."[42] What confirms this understanding is Ibn 'Umar's acceptance of this 'extra statement.' Ibn 'Umar narrated the same *ḥadīth* excluding the killing of farm dogs as well in his narration. The following chart illustrates this.

[42] Siddīqī, p. 128, citing: Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'* (with *Tuḥfa*), II, 350.



[43] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 4798:

حَدَّثَنَا يَزِيدُ أَخْبَرَنَا هَمَّامُ بْنُ يَحْيَى عَنْ قَتَادَةَ عَنْ أَبِي الْحَكَمِ الْبَجَلِيِّ عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ "مَنِ اتَّخَذَ كَلْبًا غَيْرَ كَلْب زَرْعٍ أَوْ ضَرْعٍ أَوْ صَيْدٍ نَقَصَ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ قِيرَاطٌ".

Ibn ‘Umar reported Allāh’s Apostle as saying: “He who kept a dog which is neither used for farmwork nor for guarding the livestock nor for hunting would lose one *qirāṭ* (of the reward) of his good deeds everyday.”

[44] Ibid., ḥ. no. 5481.

[45] Muslim, k. *al-Musāqāh*, ḥ. no. 1574:

Third: Ibn 'Umar's opinion of Abū Hurayrah and the *ḥadīths* that he narrated.

Ibn 'Umar testified that Abū Hurayrah was one of those closest to the Prophet and one of those most knowledgeable about his *ḥadīh*. Ibn 'Umar gave this testimony after he had objected to one of Abū Hurayrah's narrations, saying to him, "Look at what you narrate (اُنظُر ما تُحدِّث)," at which point Abū Hurayrah took his hand and went with him to 'Ā'ishah in order to ask her about the matter. She said, "O yes,"[46] in approval of Abū Hurayrah's narration. Further, at Abū Hurayrah's funeral, Ibn 'Umar asked Allah's forgiveness for him many times, saying, "He used to be one of those who took the responsibility for learning the *ḥadīhs* of the Prophet by heart and teaching them to the Muslims."[47] Furthermore, when a man said to Ibn 'Umar, "Abū Hurayrah narrated so many *ḥadīhs* from the Prophet," Ibn 'Umar said to him, "I ask Allāh's refuge for you from being in any doubt about what he narrates. He was daring [in asking the Prophet about things] while we showed cowardice."[48] On another occasion, Ibn 'Umar was asked, "Do you look askance at what he (Abū Hurayrah) says?" He replied, "No, he dared and we showed cowardice."[49] When

---

عَنْ أَبِي الْحَكَمِ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ ابْنَ عُمَرَ يُحَدِّثُ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ ''مَنِ اتَّخَذَ كَلْبًا إِلَّا كَلْبَ زَرْعٍ أَوْ غَنَمٍ أَوْ صَيْدٍ يَنْقُصُ مِنْ أَجْرِهِ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ قِيرَاطٌ''.

[46] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 4439; *Mustadrak*, k. *Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 1765.
[47] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 4, p. 340; *Bidāyah*, vol. 8, p. 111.
[48] *Mustadrak*, k. *Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 1763.
[49] Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 293, ḥ. no. 1261.

Abū Hurayrah heard about the question which Ibn 'Umar had been asked he said, "Where is my error if I memorized and they forgot?"[50]

From the above, it would seem that Goldziher's assessment of *ḥadīth* is based on evidence that is in itself insufficient, while the texts he cites in support of his argument have been considerably mis-interpreted. In other words, it seems that Goldziher is making rather substantial inferences regarding *ḥadīth* based on very insubstantial evidence.

---

[50] Ibid.

SECTION 5

GOLDZIHER'S STANCE REGARDING ABŪ HURAYRAH'S *ḤADĪTHS*

Goldziher says,

> "The inexhaustible stock of information which he always had in hand (the Abū Hurayrah *Ḥadīths* take up no less than 213 pages [I believe it is no less than 313] in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, ii. 228-541), appears to have raised suspicion of their trustworthiness in the minds of his immediate auditors, nor did they hesitate to give utterance to their suspicions in ironical form (comp. Also Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-aṣḥāb*, No. 11). He had several times to defend himself against the charge of idle talk. These facts give our criticism every reason to be prudent and sceptic."[51]

Goldziher's criticism of Abū Hurayrah's traditions is based mainly on the following *ḥadīths* that include those in which Abū Hurayrah "... had *several* times to defend himself against the charge of idle talk."

A. Abū Hurayrah said, "The people used to say, 'Abū Hurayrah narrates very many *ḥadīths* (أَنَّ النَّاسَ كَانُوا يَقُولُونَ أَكْثَرَ أَبُو هُرَيْـرَةَ).' In fact I used to keep close to Allāh's Apostle and was satisfied with what filled my stomach. I ate no leavened bread and dressed in no decorated, striped clothes, and never did a man or a woman serve me, and I often used to press my belly against gravel because of hunger, and I used to ask a man to recite a verse of the Qur'ān to me although I knew it, so that he would take

[51] *EI*[1], art. *Abū Huraira.*

me to his home and feed me. And the most generous of all people to the poor was Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. He used to take us to his home and offer us what was available there. He would even offer us an empty folded leather container [of butter] which we would split and then lick off what was in it."[52]

B. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyb and Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf narrated that Abū Hurayrah said, "You people say that Abū Hurayrah narrates very many *ḥadīths* from Allāh's Apostle (إِنَّكُمْ تَقُولُونَ إِنَّ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ يُكْثِرُ الْحَدِيثَ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ) and you also wonder why the emigrants and Anṣār do not narrate from Allāh's Apostle as Abū Hurayrah does. My emigrant brothers were busy in the market while I used to stick to Allāh's Apostle content with what filled my stomach; so I would be present when they were absent and I would remember when they used to forget, and my Anṣār brothers used to be busy with their properties while I was one of the poor men of the *ṣuffah*.[53] I used to remember the narrations when they used to forget ... ."[54] In another narration he added, "I used to attend the Prophet's meetings while the other Companions were absent and I learned *Ḥadīth* by heart while they forgot them."[55]

C. Al-A'raj reported that he heard Abū Hurayrah saying, "You are under the impression that Abū Hurayrah transmits very many *ḥadīths* from Allāh's Apostle (إِنَّكُمْ تَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ يُكْثِرُ الْحَدِيثَ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ); [bear in mind] Allāh is the ultimate One to be met (وَاللَّهُ الْمَوْعِدُ). I was a poor man and I served Allāh's Apostle being satisfied with

---

[52] Bukhārī, k. *Faḍā'l aṣḥāb al-nabbī*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 3708.
[53] A shaded place in the Mosque of the Prophet at al-Madīnah where poor people and emigrants used to take shelter.
[54] Bukhārī, k. *al-Biyū'*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 2047.

what filled my stomach, whereas the immigrants remained busy with transactions in the market, while the Anṣār were engaged in looking after their properties … ."[56]

D. Al-A'raj narrated that Abū Hurayrah said, "People say that I have narrated very many *ḥadīths* (إِنَّ النَّاسَ يَقُولُونَ أَكْثَرَ أَبُو هُرَيْرَةَ). Had it not been for two verses in the Qur'ān, I would not have narrated a single *ḥadīth*, and those verses are: 'Verily, those who conceal the clear proofs, evidences and the guidance, which We have sent down, after We have made it clear for the people in the Book, they are the ones cursed by Allāh and cursed by the cursers, except those who repent and do righteous deeds, and openly declare (the truth which they concealed). From these, I will accept repentance. And I am the One Who Accepts repentance, the Most Merciful' (Q. 2:159-60). No doubt our emigrant brothers used to be busy in the market with their business and our Anṣār brothers used to be busy with their properties. However I used to stick to Allāh's Apostle contented with what would fill my stomach[57] and I used to attend that which they used not to attend and I used to memorize that which they used not to memorize."[58]

---

[55] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 7648.
[56] Muslim, k. *Faḍā'l al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 2492; See also *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 7233.
[57] This does indicate that Abū Hurayrah spent all his time and energy in acquiring knowledge from the Prophet and led an austere and contented life, being satisfied for the most part with plain bread.
[58] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 42, ḥ. no. 118.

It is useful here to present a brief biography of this Companion and an account of his activity in relation to *Ḥadīth* before discussing Goldziher's argument. In other words, it is beneficial to view his prolific transmission of *Ḥadīth* in the light of various features of his biography.

Abū Hurayrah embraced Islam at the hand of al-Ṭufayl b. 'Amr in Yemen. Al-Ṭufayl had embraced Islam in Makkah,[59] and the Prophet had subsequently asked him to return to his people and invite them to Islam,[60] which he did. Initially, he made very few converts and returned to Makkah in order to consult the Prophet. The Prophet prayed for his people and then sent him back. On his return he made more converts,[61] one of whom was Abū Hurayrah.[62] Later, al-Ṭufayl led some of these converts, including Abū Hurayrah, to Madīnah, at the time of the conquest of Khaybar.[63] They then covered the considerable distance to Khaybar and met the Prophet there.[64] Since Khaybar took place in Ṣafar[65] in the seventh year of *hijrah*, while the Prophet died in Rabī' al-Awwal[66] in the eleventh year of *hijrah*, we can conclude that Abū Hurayrah accompanied the Prophet for more than four years. However, Abū Hurayrah himself states that he only accompanied the Prophet for

[59] *Mustadrak*, k. *Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 729; Hishām 1, vol. 1, pp. 382-5.
[60] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 4, p. 239.
[61] Hishām 1, vol. 1, pp. 382-5.
[62] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, p. 353.
[63] For the definition of *Khaybar*, see Chapter 2, footnote no. 10.
[64] Ibid., p. 353; Hishām 1, vol. 1, pp. 382-5.
[65] The second month of the Muslim calendar.
[66] The third month of the Muslim calendar.

three years.[67] The reason for this was that Abū Hurayrah did not count the period during which he stayed in Bahrain,[68] in the company of al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī whom the Prophet had appointed as Amīr of Bahrain, and subsequently Abū Hurayrah traveled to various other places.[69] It is likely that Abū Hurayrah closely followed news of the Islamic military expeditions and other important events that involved the Muslims before he met the Prophet. For instance, he asked the Prophet not to give Abān a share of the Khaybar booty because he had killed Ibn Qawqal at the battle of Uḥud[70].[71]

Abū Hurayrah was a poor man and one of the people of *ṣuffah*[72],[73] he served the Prophet[74] and loved him a great deal.[75] He accompanied him on the majority of the military expeditions (*ghazawāt*)[76] which the Prophet undertook,[77] and was very

---

[67] Bukhārī, k. *al-Manāqib*, bā. no. 25, ḥ. no. 3591.

[68] Abū Hurayrah went to Bahrain in the end of Dhū al-Qi'dah or Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the eighth year of the *hijrah*. See *Difā'*, p. 138.

[69] Such as the Mu'tah expedition in Jumādā al-Ūlā, the fifth month of the Muslim calendar, in the ninth year of the *hijrah* (Wāqidī, vol. 2, p. 760 & 765), and his pilgrimage with Abū Bakr in the end of the ninth year of the *hijrah* (Bukhārī, k. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, bā. no. 2, ḥ. no. 4655)

[70] A well known mountain about 3 miles north of Madīnah where one of the greatest battle in Islamic history took place in the third year of *hijrah*; after a strong start, the Muslims ultimately lost.

[71] Bukhārī, k. *al-Maghāzī*, bā. no. 38, ḥ. no. 4238.

[72] For the definition of *Ṣuffah*, see footnote no. 53 above.

[73] Bukhārī, k. *al-Biyū'*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 2047.

[74] Muslim, k. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 2492:

حَدَّثَنَا قُتَيْبَةُ بْنُ سَعِيدٍ وَأَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ وَزُهَيْرُ بْنُ حَرْبٍ جَمِيعًا عَنْ سُفْيَانَ قَالَ زُهَيْرٌ حَدَّثَنَا سُفْيَانُ بْنُ عُيَيْنَةَ عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ عَنِ الْأَعْرَجِ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ يَقُولُ "إِنَّكُمْ تَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ يُكْثِرُ الْحَدِيثَ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ، وَاللَّهُ الْمَوْعِدُ ، كُنْتُ رَجُلًا مِسْكِينًا أَخْدُمُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَى مِلْءِ بَطْنِي ... ."

[75] *Mustadrak*, k. *al-Birr wa al-ṣilah*, ḥ. no. 39; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 7873, 8096 & 10027:

عَنْ أَبِي مَيْمُونَةَ عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ قُلْتُ "يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إِنِّي إِذَا رَأَيْتُكَ طَابَتْ نَفْسِي وَقَرَّتْ عَيْنِي ... ."

[76] Pl. of *ghazwah*: a holy battle in the cause of Allāh in which the Prophet himself took part.

[77] Such as: Khaybar, Fatḥ Makkah, Ḥunayn, al-Ṭā'if and Tabūk.

close to the Prophet.[78] Indeed in his opinion, the provision he received from the Prophet was sufficient in that he was close to the Prophet in order to hear and learn his words.[79] The Prophet once offered him money, saying to Abū Hurayrah, "Do you not ask me to give you from this booty?"[80] He replied, "All I ask you is to teach me

---

First: Fatḥ Makkah (which took place in Ramaḍān, the ninth month of the Islamic year, in the eighth year of *hijrah*), see Muslim, k. *al-Jihād wa al-siyar*, ḥ. no. 1780:

... فَقَالَ أَبُو هُرَيْرَةَ "أَلَا أُعْلِمُكُمْ بِحَدِيثٍ مِنْ حَدِيثِكُمْ يَا مَعْشَرَ الْأَنْصَارِ ، ثُمَّ ذَكَرَ فَتْحَ مَكَّةَ فَقَالَ: أَقْبَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَتَّى قَدِمَ مَكَّةَ ، فَبَعَثَ الزُّبَيْرَ عَلَى إِحْدَى الْمُجَنِّبَتَيْنِ ، وَبَعَثَ خَالِدًا عَلَى الْمُجَنِّبَةِ الْأُخْرَى ، وَبَعَثَ أَبَا عُبَيْدَةَ عَلَى الْحُسَّرِ، فَأَخَذُوا بَطْنَ الْوَادِي وَرَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي كَتِيبَةٍ، قَالَ فَنَظَرَ فَرَآنِي، فَقَالَ: "أَبُو هُرَيْرَةَ." قُلْتُ: لَبَّيْكَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، فَقَالَ: 'لَا يَأْتِينِي إِلَّا أَنْصَارِيٌّ.' زَادَ غَيْرُ شَيْبَانَ: فَقَالَ 'اهْتِفْ لِي بِالْأَنْصَارِ.' قَالَ: فَأَطَافُوا بِهِ ... ."

Second: Ḥunayn (which took place after Fatḥ Makkah), see Bukhārī, k. *al-Maghāzī*, bā. no. 48, ḥ. no. 4285:

عَنْ أَبِي سَلَمَةَ عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّه عَنهم قَالَ: "قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حِينَ أَرَادَ حُنَيْنًا: 'مَنْزِلُنَا غَدًا إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ بِخَيْفِ بَنِي كِنَانَةَ حَيْثُ تَقَاسَمُوا عَلَى الْكُفْرِ .'"

Third: al-Ṭā'if (which took place in Shawwāl, the tenth month of the Islamic year, in the eighth year of *hijrah*), see Wāqidī, vol. 3, pp. 936-7:

قال أبو هريرة: "ولم يُؤذن لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في فتحها. قال: فأمر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عمر وأذن في الناس بالرحيل. قال: فجعل الناس يضجون من ذلك. قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: 'اغدوا على القتال.' فغدوا فأصابت المسلمين جراحات. فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : 'إنا قافلون إن شاء الله.' فسُروا بذلك وأذعنوا، وجعلوا يرحلون والنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يضحك ... ."

Forth: Tabūk (which took place in Rajab, the seventh month of the Islamic year, in the ninth year of *hijrah*), see *Jawāmi'*, p. 249.

عن أبي هريرة أنه قال: "خرجنا مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم غزوة تبوك ... ."

See also Muslim, k. *al-Īmān*, ḥ. no. 27; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 9170.

[78] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 7233 & 7648; Muslim, k. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 2492; Bukhārī, k. *al-Biyū'*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 2047.

[79] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 8789:

حَدَّثَنَا بَهْزٌ حَدَّثَنَا حَمَّادُ بْنُ سَلَمَةَ عَنْ يَعْلَى بْنِ عَطَاءٍ عَنِ الْوَلِيدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ أَنَّ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ حَدَّثَ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّهُ قَالَ "مَنْ صَلَّى عَلَى جِنَازَةٍ فَلَهُ قِيرَاطٌ وَمَنْ صَلَّى عَلَيْهَا وَتَبِعَهَا فَلَهُ قِيرَاطَانِ." فَقَالَ لَهُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ "انْظُرْ مَا تُحَدِّثُ يَا أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ فَإِنَّكَ تُكْثِرُ الْحَدِيثَ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ." فَأَخَذَ بِيَدِهِ فَذَهَبَ بِهِ إِلَى عَائِشَةَ فَصَدَّقَتْ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ فَقَالَ أَبُو هُرَيْرَةَ "وَاللَّهِ يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ مَا كَانَ يَشْغَلُنِي عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الصَّفْقُ فِي الْأَسْوَاقِ مَا كَانَ يُهِمُّنِي مِنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ إِلَّا كَلِمَةٌ يُعَلِّمُنِيهَا أَوْ لُقْمَةٌ يُلَقِّمُنِيهَا."

[80] Some Companions used to ask the Prophet to give them a share of the booty even if they had not taken part in the expedition. See Dāwūd, k. *al-Jihād*, bā. no. 151, ḥ. no. 2723:

"أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بَعَثَ أَبَانَ بْنَ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْعَاصِ عَلَى سَرِيَّةٍ مِنَ الْمَدِينَةِ قِبَلَ نَجْدٍ فَقَدِمَ أَبَانُ بْنُ سَعِيدٍ وَأَصْحَابُهُ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بِخَيْبَرَ بَعْدَ أَنْ فَتَحَهَا وَإِنَّ حُزُمَ خَيْلِهِمْ لِيفٌ فَقَالَ: أَبَانُ 'اقْسِمْ لَنَا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ' ... ."

what Allāh has taught you."[81] He accompanied the Prophet when he went out to the market place,[82] toured the orchards[83] and visited the sick.[84] He would hold the halter of the Prophet's she-camel[85] with such regularity that the Prophet would inquire after him when he was absent.[86]

Abū Hurayrah, as we have noted, was very keen to know the sayings and actions of the Prophet, whether regarding major or peripheral matters. A useful indication of his desire to acquire a highly comprehensive knowledge of the Prophet's behaviour was his saying, "Allāh's Apostle used to keep silent between the *takbīr*[87] and the recitation of Qur'ān and that interval of silence used to be a short one. I said to the Prophet 'May my parents be sacrificed for you! What do you say in the pause

---

[81] *Ḥilyat*, vol. 1, 381; *Bidāyah*, vol. 8, p. 115:
وقال سعيد بن أبي هند عن أبي هريرة أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال له: "لا تسألني من هذه الغنائم التي سألني أصحابك؟" فقلت: "أسألك أن تعلمني مما علّمك الله."

[82] Bukhārī, k. *al-Libās*, bā. no. 60, ḥ. no. 5884:
حَدَّثَنِي إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الْحَنْظَلِيُّ أَخْبَرَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ آدَمَ حَدَّثَنَا وَرْقَاءُ بْنُ عُمَرَ عَنْ عُبَيْدِاللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي يَزِيدَ عَنْ نَافِعِ بْنِ جُبَيْرٍ عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّه عَنهم قَالَ "كُنْتُ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي سُوقٍ مِنْ أَسْوَاقِ الْمَدِينَةِ فَانْصَرَفَ فَانْصَرَفْتُ ..."

; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 8180; Muslim, k. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 2421.

[83] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 8024; *Zawā'id*, vol. 1, p. 50.

[84] Ibn Mājah, k. *al-Ṭib*, bā. no. 18, ḥ. no. 3470; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 9384; *Mustadrak*, k. *al-Janā'iz*, ḥ. no. 23.

[85] *Mustadrak*, k. *al-Jihād*, ḥ. no. 109.

[86] Dāwūd, k. *al-Nikāḥ*, bā. no. 50, ḥ. no. 2174; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 10594:
عَنْ أَبِي نَضْرَةَ عَنْ رَجُلٍ مِنَ الطُّفَاوَةِ قَالَ: "نَزَلْتُ عَلَى أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ ... فَقَالَ لِي أَلَا أُحَدِّثُكَ عَنِّي وَعَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ؟ قُلْتُ بَلَى، قَالَ: فَإِنِّي بَيْنَمَا أَنَا أُوعَكُ فِي مَسْجِدِ الْمَدِينَةِ إِذْ دَخَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ الْمَسْجِدَ فَقَالَ: 'مَنْ أَحَسَّ الْفَتَى الدَّوْسِيَّ؟ مَنْ أَحَسَّ الْفَتَى الدَّوْسِيَّ؟' فَقَالَ لَهُ قَائِلٌ: هُوَ ذَاكَ يُوعَكُ فِي جَانِبِ الْمَسْجِدِ حَيْثُ تَرَى يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ..."

[87] Saying *Allāhu akbar* in the beginning of any prayer.

between the *takbīr* and the recitation?'"[88] On one occasion he asked the Prophet a question about intercession on the Day of Judgement, and the Prophet replied, "O Abū Hurayrah! I thought that none would ask me about it before you, as I know your longing for the [learning of] the *Ḥadīth*."[89] Ubayy b. Ka'b said, "Abū Hurayrah was very daring (*jarī'an*) in asking the Prophet about certain things his Companions did not ask him about."[90]

He also habitually learned the words of the Prophet by heart. He said, "I do not know of any Companion of the Prophet who learned the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet better than me."[91] He also said, "I accompanied the Prophet for three years and all that I was interested in during those years was memorizing his *Ḥadīth*."[92] In another statement he said, "I accompanied the Prophet for three years, and I was never so anxious in the rest of my life to understand the *Ḥadīth* as I was during those three years."[93] In order to accomplish his goal, Abū Hurayrah allocated a part of the night

---

[88] Bukhārī, k. *al-Adhān*, bā. no. 89, ḥ. no. 744; Muslim, k. *al-Masājid wa mawāḍi' al-Ṣalāh*, ḥ. no. 598; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Iftitāḥ*, bā. no. 15, ḥ. no. 895; Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 123, ḥ. no. 781; Ibn Mājah, k. *Iqāmatu al-Ṣalāh wa al-Sunnatu fīhā*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 805; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 7124, 10036; Dārimī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 37, ḥ. no. 1244.

[89] Bukhārī, k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 33, ḥ. no. 99; k. *al-Riqāq*, bā. no. 51, ḥ. no. 6570:
حَدَّثَنَا قُتَيْبَةُ بْنُ سَعِيدٍ حَدَّثَنَا إِسْمَاعِيلُ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ عَنْ عَمْرٍو عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْمَقْبُرِيِّ عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِي اللّٰه عَنْه أَنَّهُ قَالَ: ''قُلْتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ: مَنْ أَسْعَدُ النَّاسِ بِشَفَاعَتِكَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ؟'' فَقَالَ: ''لَقَدْ ظَنَنْتُ يَا أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ أَنْ لَا يَسْأَلَنِي عَنْ هَذَا الْحَدِيثِ أَحَدٌ أَوَّلُ مِنْكَ لِمَا رَأَيْتُ مِنْ حِرْصِكَ عَلَى الْحَدِيثِ، أَسْعَدُ النَّاسِ بِشَفَاعَتِي يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ: مَنْ قَالَ: 'لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ خَالِصًا مِنْ قِبَلِ نَفْسِهِ.'''

Musnad 3, ḥ. no. 8641; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 2, p. 364; vol. 4, p. 330.

[90] *Mustadrak*, k. *Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 1764.

[91] Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 28, ḥ. no. 284; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 4, p. 332.

[92] Ḥumaydī, vol. 2, p. 455. See also *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 7927.

[93] Bukhārī, k. *al-Manāqib*, bā. no. 25, ḥ. no. 3591; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 4, p. 327; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 9796.

for the memorization of *Ḥadīth.*[94] Thus, when Marwān b. al-Ḥakam tested his memory of *ḥadīths*, he found him to be very efficient. Abū al-Zu'ayzi'ah, Marwān's scribe, said, "Marwān invited Abū Hurayrah and asked me to sit behind the bed. He started to question him, and I started to record his answers. A year later, he called on him to come again and asked him the same things. Abū Hurayrah gave him the same answers with no addition or deletion whatsoever."[95]

As a natural result of the circumstances we have described, including Abū Hurayrah's poverty, his close company of the Prophet during his residences and journeys, his daring in asking the Prophet questions, and his keenness to learn from the Prophet and memorize his words, he was well placed to be aware of a great deal of the Prophet's sayings and actions that many other Companions were unaware of. It is therefore unsurprising that he narrated so many *ḥadīths* from the Prophet, especially when we are aware that he himself taught the Prophetic *ḥadīths*, saying, "...had it not been for two verses in the Qur'ān, I would not have narrated a single *ḥadīth.*"[96] He would narrate in the Mosque before the *Jumu'ah* prayer, and would sit down when he heard the door opening for the Imām to enter and give the sermon.[97] He lived to old age[98] and was in great demand for his knowledge in Madīnah, where

---

[94] Dārimī, *al-Muqaddimah*, bā. no. 27, ḥ. no. 264.
[95] *Mustadrak*, k. *Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 1762; *Bidāyah*, vol. 8, p. 109.
[96] See above, p. 203.
[97] *Mustadrak*, k. *Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 1771.
[98] Abū Hurayrah died in one of the following years: 57, 58 or 59 AH. However, if he prayed at 'Ā'ishah's funeral in 58, the date must be 58/678, or 59.

he was based and which was considered the centre for the dissemination of the Prophet's *ḥadīths*.

It is no wonder then that this man memorized *ḥadīths* which run to no less than 313 pages in the ***Musnad of Ibn Ḥanbal***. In present-day Makkah and Madīnah, there are institutes for the memorization of the Qur'ān where students graduate in two years or less. During the course, students may memorize all the contents of ***Ṣaḥiḥ al-Bukhārī*** and ***Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim*** which contain a combined total of 14,838 *ḥadīths*,[99] in addition to the Qur'ān. The number of *ḥadīths* which Abū Hurayrah memorized throughout the time he accompanied the Prophet is far smaller than that which students assimilate in the institutes of the present day,[100] putting his nonetheless remarkable achievement into perspective.

We can conclude that, when viewed in the context of his life, the explanation that Abū Hurayrah frequently gave for the large number of *ḥadīths* that he reported is entirely reasonable and need, therefore, give us no cause to be prudent or sceptical.

Discussion of Goldziher's argument:

The fact that Abū Hurayrah narrated *ḥadīths* prolifically in comparison with other Companions, despite his belated embracing of Islam, was naturally a cause of inquiry amongst the Followers and Companions who lived away from Madīnan

---

[99] This occurs, including repetitions, with the following frequencies: ***Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*** - 7563; and ***Muslim*** - 7275, and without repetitions: Total 5,794; ***Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*** - 2761 and ***Muslim*** - 3033. See ***Fatḥ***, vol. 13, p. 537; Muslim, vol. 5, p. 601; ***al-Ḥiṭṭah fī dhikr al-ṣiḥāḥ al-sitah***, pp.175, 201 (by Ṣiddīq Ḥasan (d. 1307/1889). Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1905/1985).

society. These inquiries were not ironical as Goldziher alleges, but were in fact intended to establish the causes of this and thus remove any shadow of doubt regarding his narration. It is also fair to say that when Abū Hurayrah gave his explanation for the number of *ḥadīths* he reported, those who heard it were satisfied. In any case, if they had been seriously doubtful about his truthfulness, the reasons he gave would certainly not have been sufficient, and he would not have been permitted to continue to narrate *ḥadīths* from the Prophet. In addition, we would expect to find at least one statement accusing him of fabrication, particularly when we know that the number of those who narrated *Ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayrah exceeds 800,[101] including approximately 41 Companions.[102] Indeed, Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubayd Allāh clearly stated that, "Not a single Companion among us accused him of fabricating *ḥadīths* and attributing them to the Prophet."[103] Various senior Companions, including 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr and so forth, used to consult with Abū Hurayrah regarding *Ḥadīth*,[104] and people would check with him regarding the soundness of various *ḥadīths*. When 'Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq al-'Uqaylī heard Ibn 'Abbās state in his *khuṭbah*, after he had delayed the prayer, "I saw the Prophet combining the noon and afternoon prayers and the sunset and *'ishā'* prayers," he said, "Some doubt was

---

[100] Leaving aside the distinguished scholars who have very good memories.
[101] *Tahdhīb*, vol. 12, p. 265.
[102] *Difā'*, p. 109.
[103] *Mustadrak*, k. *Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 1770.
[104] *Bidāyah*, vol. 8, pp. 111-2.

created in my mind about it (فَحَاكَ فِي صَدْرِي مِنْ ذَلِكَ شَيْءٌ). So I went to Abū Hurayrah and asked him [about it] and he testified to his assertion."[105]

The question that poses itself here is whether what Abū Hurayrah claimed about the status of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār was true. Before we answer this question, we would add that Abū Hurayrah was not left alone to defend the large number of *ḥadīths* he narrated from the Prophet. Ṭalḥah did so also. For instance, a man came to Ṭalḥah and asked him, "O Abū Muḥammad, do you see this Yemenī (namely: Abū Hurayrah)? Is he more well versed in the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet than you are? We hear him narrate more *ḥadīths* than you do, but does he fabricate *ḥadīths* and attribute them to the Prophet?" Ṭalḥah replied, "As for his hearing more *ḥadīths* from the Prophet than we did, I have no doubt that that was the case because he was a poor man staying with the Prophet as his guest, whereas we had homes and businesses to go back to, and we only used to come to the Prophet in the mornings and evenings. Therefore, I have no doubt that he heard from him *ḥadīths* which we did not hear. We do not see anyone who is deemed to be a good man fabricating *ḥadīths* and then attributing them to the Prophet."[106] In another narration, as we have mentioned above, he said, "Not a single Companion among us accused him of fabricating

---

[105] Muslim, k. *Ṣalāt al-Musāfirīn*, ḥ. no. 705:

"عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ ابْنِ شَقِيقٍ قَالَ خَطَبَنَا ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ يَوْمًا بَعْدَ الْعَصْرِ حَتَّى غَرَبَتِ الشَّمْسُ وَبَدَتِ النُّجُومُ وَجَعَلَ النَّاسُ يَقُولُونَ الصَّلَاةَ الصَّلَاةَ قَالَ فَجَاءَهُ رَجُلٌ مِنْ بَنِي تَمِيمٍ لَا يَفْتُرُ وَلَا يَنْثَنِي الصَّلَاةَ الصَّلَاةَ فَقَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ أَتُعَلِّمُنِي بِالسُّنَّةِ لَا أُمَّ لَكَ ثُمَّ قَالَ رَأَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ جَمَعَ بَيْنَ الظُّهْرِ وَالْعَصْرِ وَالْمَغْرِبِ وَالْعِشَاءِ قَالَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ شَقِيقٍ فَحَاكَ فِي صَدْرِي مِنْ ذَلِكَ شَيْءٌ فَأَتَيْتُ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ فَسَأَلْتُهُ فَصَدَّقَ مَقَالَتَهُ."

[106] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Manāqib*, bā. no. 47, ḥ. no. 3837.

ḥadīths and attributing them to the Prophet."[107] Ṭalḥah's statement would seem to indicate that what Abū Hurayrah claimed was true, as it also answers the previous questions as well. There are also statements from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and al-Barā' b. 'Āzib which further confirm this. The former said, "This *ḥadīth* [the *ḥadīth* regarding the requirement to take permission from the occupants before entering a house] of the Prophet remained hidden from me. Business in the market kept me busy."[108] The latter, who was an Anṣārī stated, "Not all of us heard all the *ḥadīths* of the Prophet. We used to have fields and businesses. However, people at that time did not lie and those who were present used to tell those who were absent about the *ḥadīths*."[109] This is an admission that they were busy for part of the time, and were therefore unable to attend all the Prophet's meetings, which confirms Abū Hurayrah's statement.

Abū Hurayrah mentioned another reason for his prolific narration. He mentioned on a number of occasions, using various expressions, that one reason was his powerful memory. He said to those who questioned him and those who were doubtful, "I learn by heart whereas they forget,"[110] and also, "I attended the meetings that they did not attend and I learned by heart *ḥadīths* which they did not learn by heart."[111] In addition, he stated, "I used to be in the Prophet's company for most of

[107] *Mustadrak*, k. *Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, ḥ. no. 1770.
[108] Bukhārī, k. *al-I'tiṣām bi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, bā. no. 22, ḥ. no. 7353; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 19084.
[109] *Mustadrak*, k. *al-'Ilm*, ḥ. no. 149.
[110] Bukhārī, k. *al-Biyū'*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 2047.
[111] Ibid., k. *al-'Ilm*, bā. no. 42, ḥ. no. 118.

the time, I attended his meetings when they were absent, and I learned the *ḥadīths* by heart while they forgot them."[112]

This is further confirmed by Muḥammad b. 'Umārah b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm's description of Abū Hurayrah's teaching circles. He reveals that he sat in a gathering where Abū Hurayrah, along with more than ten Companions of the Prophet, was present. Abū Hurayrah then started to narrate a certain *ḥadīth* from the Prophet; some of them initially failed to recognize it, but on reviewing the *ḥadīth*, many of them did. Then he told them of another *ḥadīth,* and as before some of those present failed to recognize it, again recognizing it after some thought. He did this time and time again. Muḥammad then said, "From that time, I knew that Abū Hurayrah was the best at learning by heart the *ḥadīths* from the Prophet."[113]

This evidence indicates the veracity of Abū Hurayrah's claims. It also indicates that the Companions and Followers accepted his *ḥadīths*, including those who were initially sceptical.

---

[112] *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 7648.
[113] Bukhārī *TK*, vol. 1, pp. 186-7 (article on Muḥammad b. 'Umārah b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm); *Nubalā'*, vol. 2, p. 617.

CHAPTER 4
THE PIOUS SCHOLARS AND FABRICATION

An analysis of the evidence Goldziher cites in support of his claim that the pious scholars fabricated *Ḥadīth* during the Umayyads period

Section 1: Goldziher's evidence regarding the pious scholars' fabrication.

Section 2: Discussion of Goldziher's allegation that the pious scholars invented the *ḥadīth*, "There will come emirs after me who will kill (*yumītūna*) the *Ṣalāt* … ."

Section 3: Discussion of the dissatisfaction of the pious scholars and their denunciation and defiance of the tyrannical rule of the Umayyads.

Section 4: Discussion of al-Ḥajjāj's mistreatment of Anas b. Mālik.

Section 5: Discussion of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik's alleged desire to execute al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī because of his pietistical opposition.

Section 6: Discussion of Ibn al-Musayyib's refusal to pledge allegiance.

Section 7: Discussion of Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib's statement about Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's opinion on the issue of *khilāfah*.

SECTION 1

GOLDZIHER'S EVIDENCE REGARDING THE PIOUS SCHOLARS' FABRICATION

This section will be devoted to the presentation of Goldziher's evidence regarding the role of the pious scholars in the fabrication of *Ḥadīth.*

Goldziher's theory with regard to the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* is based mainly on the claim that there was a great enmity that existed between the Umayyads and the pious scholars. He elaborates this enmity a great deal, while emphasising the readiness of each side to fabricate *ḥadīths*, either to the detriment of the other party, or to bolster their own cause. We present his evidence, regarding fabrication by the 'pious scholars', below:

Goldziher says,

> "At the time of al-Ḥajjāj and 'Umar II people had no idea of the proper times for prayer and the most pious Muslims were unsure of the quite elementary rules. The pious, however, endeavoured to demand adherence to a fixed sunna in the name of the Prophet and, when they found that the government did not support them in efforts which seemed unimportant to the latter, they produced the following Prophecy of Muhammed: 'There

will come emirs after me who will kill the *ṣalāt* (*yumītūna*) but continue to pray the *ṣalāt* at the proper times all the same.'"[1]

Goldziher cites the same *ḥadīth* from Abū Dāwūd, I, p. 45, commenting,

> "This does not mean those who abolish the institution of the *ṣalāt* but those who *yu'akhkhirūna al-ṣalāt*, i.e. do not keep exactly to the times of the *ṣalāt*-rite as decreed by the sunna."[2]

> "'Kingdom' *-al-mulk-* this expression characterizes the trend of Umayyad rule. It was entirely secular, showing little concern with religious law as practised by the pious and laying no stress on the fact that it wielded a power which derived from the Prophet. The true followers of the Umayyads also felt no particular need to honour the founder of theocratic rule. It must have been the sneers of such people that stopped the Zubayrid from giving the usual blessing on the memory of the Prophet in his speeches. The founder of the dynasty was the first who called himself king, and the pious Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib made this bitter comment: 'May Allāh repay Mu'āwiyah, as he was the first who converted this condition (dominion over true believers) into *mulk.*'
>
> Pious people of Sa'īd's kind frowned at the state of affairs under such rule; they decried the tyrannical government, defied it by passive resistance and even showed their dissatisfaction openly, occasionally going so far as to refuse homage. In return they were hated and despised by the ruling circles. It is sufficient to consider the way in which al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf deals with Anas b. Mālik; he rebukes him like a criminal and threatens 'to grind him as millstones would grind and to make him a target for arrows.' The caliph Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik contemptuously calls the pious Ḥasan al-Baṣrī a *shaykh jāhil*, a doddering old man whom he would like to kill because his pietistical opposition is repellent and

---

[1] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 40.
[2] Ibid., p. 33.

inconvenient to him. This Ḥasan had said that the governor Mughīra had made a fateful step, in so far as he inspired the hereditary caliphate of the Umayyads, by arranging that homage should be paid during Mu'āwiyah's life to his son Yazīd; the pious preferred the electoral caliphate (*shūrā*) of patriarchal times. The aims of the pious were divorced from reality.

During the time when religious people were pushed into the background by the rulers, they, like the Jewish rabbis under Roman rule, occupied themselves with research into the law, which had no validity for the real circumstances of life but represented for themselves the law of their ideal society. The god-fearing elements of society looked upon these men as their leaders and even some lax persons occasionally approached them for guidance *in casu conscientiae*. Without paying any attention to reality these men founded the sunna of the Prophet upon which the law and jurisprudence of the Islamic state was to be based. The Companions and 'followers' living amongst them gave them the sacred material which formed the contents and basis of their endeavour. What these latter could not offer was looked for afar. People traveled to Medina, the place of origin of the *ḥadīth*, from where the religious stream flowed into the Muslim diaspora in those godless times. ...

Thus there arise new people to relate sayings ascribed to the Prophet, but some new things also came into being. Anything which appears desirable to pious men was given by them a corroborating support reaching back to the Prophet. This could easily be done in a generation in which the Companions, who were represented as the intermediaries of the Prophet's words, were no longer alive. The fact, that by disseminating these teachings they thought they were working against the godless tendency of the time, quietened the conscience of the pious inventors of traditions, who related their own teachings and those of their immediate teachers back to the authority of the Master who was for all, including even the lax, an undisputable source of law. Since the pious opponents of the dynasty looked upon the 'Alid pretenders as the

chosen saviours of the empire, a large part of these falsifications was dedicated to the praise of the Prophet's family without being a direct attack upon the Umayyads. But nobody could be so simple as not to recognize the negative implications.

Thus the *ḥadīth* led in the first century a troubled existence, in silent opposition to the ruling element which worked the opposite direction. The pious cultivated and disseminated in their orders the little that they had saved from early times or acquired by communication. They also fabricated new material for which they could expect recognition only in a small community."[3]

[3] Ibid., pp. 40-3.

SECTION 2

DISCUSSION OF GOLDZIHER'S ALLEGATION THAT THE PIOUS SCHOLARS INVENTED THE *ḤADĪTH*, 'THERE WILL COME EMIRS AFTER ME WHO WILL KILL (*YUMĪTŪNA*) THE *ṢALĀT* … .'

Goldziher says,

> "At the time of al-Ḥajjāj and 'Umar II people had no idea of the proper times for prayer and the most pious Muslims were unsure of the quite elementary rules [citing: al-Nasā'ī, I. pp. 46-7]. The pious, however, endeavoured to demand adherence to a fixed sunna in the name of the Prophet and, when they found that the government did not support them in efforts which seemed unimportant to the latter, they produced the following Prophecy of Muhammed: 'There will come emirs after me who will kill the *ṣalāt* (*yumītūna*) but continue to pray the *ṣalāt* at the proper times all the same' [citing: al-Tirmidhī, I, p. 37[4]]."[5]

Goldziher cites the same *ḥadīth* from Abū Dāwūd, I, p. 45,[6] commenting,

> "This does not mean those who abolish the institution of the *ṣalāt* but those who *yu'akhkhirūna al-ṣalāt*, i.e. do not keep exactly to the times of the *ṣalāt*-rite as decreed by the sunna."[7]

---

[4] This is the *ḥadīth* from al-Tirmidhī which is cited by Goldziher, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 129, ḥ. no. 176:
حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مُوسَى الْبَصْرِيُّ حَدَّثَنَا جَعْفَرُ بْنُ سُلَيْمَانَ الضُّبَعِيُّ عَنْ أَبِي عِمْرَانَ الْجَوْنِيِّ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الصَّامِتِ عَنْ أَبِي ذَرٍّ قَالَ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: ''يَا أَبَا ذَرٍّ، أُمَرَاءُ يَكُونُونَ بَعْدِي يُمِيتُونَ الصَّلَاةَ، فَصَلِّ الصَّلَاةَ لِوَقْتِهَا، فَإِنْ صُلِّيَتْ لِوَقْتِهَا كَانَتْ لَكَ نَافِلَةً وَإِلَّا كُنْتَ قَدْ أَحْرَزْتَ صَلَاتَكَ.''

[5] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 40.

[6] This is the *ḥadīth* from Abū Dāwūd which is cited by Goldziher, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 431:
حَدَّثَنَا مُسَدَّدٌ حَدَّثَنَا حَمَّادُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ عَنْ أَبِي عِمْرَانَ يَعْنِي الْجَوْنِيَّ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الصَّامِتِ عَنْ أَبِي ذَرٍّ قَالَ: قَالَ لِي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّه عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: ''يَا أَبَا ذَرٍّ كَيْفَ أَنْتَ إِذَا كَانَتْ عَلَيْكَ أُمَرَاءُ يُمِيتُونَ الصَّلَاةَ أَوْ قَالَ يُؤَخِّرُونَ الصَّلَاةَ.'' قُلْتُ: ''يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ فَمَا تَأْمُرُنِي؟'' قَالَ: ''صَلِّ الصَّلَاةَ لِوَقْتِهَا فَإِنْ أَدْرَكْتَهَا مَعَهُمْ فَصَلِّهَا فَإِنَّهَا لَكَ نَافِلَةٌ.''

[7] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 33.

Before discussing Goldziher's allegation that the pious scholars invented the *ḥadīth*, "There will come emirs after me who will kill (*yumītūna*) the *ṣalāt* … ," which is our main concern in this section, it is worthwhile discussing his belief that people had no idea of the proper times for prayer at the time of al-Ḥajjāj and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Goldziher cites the following narrations as his evidence:

1. Abū Umāmah b. Sahl reported: "We offered the *ẓuhr* prayer with 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. We then set out till we came to Anas b. Mālik and found him busy in performing the *'aṣr* prayer. I said to him, 'O Uncle! which is this prayer that you are offering?' He said, 'It is the *'aṣr* prayer, and this is the prayer of the Prophet of Allāh that we offered along with him.'"[8]

2. Bashīr b. Salām reported: "I and Muḥammad Bāqir b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn came to Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī during the reign of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and inquired from him about [the times of] prayer of the Prophet of Allāh. Jābir said, 'The Prophet of Allāh prayed the *ẓuhr* prayer when the sun had passed the meridian to the extent of the thong of a sandal; he prayed the *'aṣr* prayer at the time when the shadow of a man was as long as himself; he prayed the *maghrib* prayer at the time when the sun had set; he prayed the *'ishā'* prayer at the time when the twilight had disappeared; and he prayed the *fajr* prayer at the time when the dawn had appeared. On the following day he prayed the *ẓuhr* prayer when his shadow was as long as himself; he prayed the *'aṣr* prayer at the time when his shadow was twice as long as himself and there was still enough time for a man to be able to go off after the prayer from Madīnah and reach Dhū al-Ḥulayfah before sunset; he prayed the *maghrib* prayer at the time when the sun had sunk; he prayed the *'ishā'* prayer at the time when about a third or middle

---

[8] Nasā'ī, k. *al-Mawāqīt*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 509.

of the night had passed; and he prayed the *fajr* prayer when there was clear daylight.'"[9]

The *ḥadīth* narrated by Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh himself (d. 74/693) clearly states that for every prayer there is a period in which it should be performed. Mujāhid b. Jabr said, "It is said that a prayer has a beginning and an end to its time."[10] Ibn 'Abbās said, "Between every two prayers there is a specific time."[11] It was also narrated from Abū al-Aṣba' that he said, "I heard Ibn 'Abbās saying many times, 'The time of a certain prayer does not end until the next prayer is called.'"[12] 'Ikrimah said, "Between offering one prayer and the next one there is a specific time."[13] On this basis, some rulers used to offer the prayer at the end of its appointed time because it was legally permissible to do so. Therefore, regarding the narration cited by Goldziher, Abū Umāmah, along with his companions offered the *ẓuhr* prayer with 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz at the end of its appointed time whereas Anas b. Mālik (d. 91/709) offered the *'aṣr* prayer at the beginning of its time. Moreover, Anas told them that this was the time in which the Prophet offered this prayer, i.e. that it was

[9] Ibid., bā. no. 15, ḥ. no. 524. Also, Ibn Abī Shaybah in his book *al-Muṣannaf*, vol. 1, p. 282, ḥ. no. 3226, narrated it with the following addition:

"فقلنا له كيف نصلي مع الحجاج وهو يؤخر؟ فقال ماصلى للوقت فصلوا معه فإذا أخر فصلّوها لوقتها واجعلوها معه نافلـــة. وحديثي هذا عندكم أمانة [فإن] مت فإن استطاع الحجّاج أن ينبشني فلينبشني"

[10] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 114, ḥ. no. 151; Muslim, k. *al-Masājid*, ḥ. no. 622; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 120, ḥ. no. 160; Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 5, ḥ. no. 413; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 11588, 12100 & 12518; Mālik, k. *al-Qur'ān*, ḥ. no. 46; *Muṣannaf* 1, vol. 1, p. 549, ḥ. no. 2080.

[11] *Muṣannaf*, vol. 1, p. 294, ḥ. no. 3366.

[12] Ibid., p. 294, ḥ. no. 3369.

[13] Ibid., p. 294, ḥ. no. 3367.

the best time to offer it.[14] Hence, it is clear that Goldziher's assumption, that people had no idea of the proper times for prayer and that the most pious Muslims were unsure of the quite elementary rules, is based on a misunderstanding.

It is worth mentioning that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz reversed his decision to pray at the end of the prayer time and confined himself to the beginning of the time in which the Prophet used to offer prayer. He did this after 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr informed him of the best times to offer prayer, i.e. those in which the Prophet did so.[15] Ibn Ḥajar mentions some evidence which demonstrates the commitment of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz to keep uncompromisingly to these times.[16]

As regards the question posed by the two followers, Bashīr b. Sallām and Muḥammad b. 'Alī to Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, during the governorship of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, about the times in which the Prophet offered prayer, it was natural for the followers to have asked about almost everything regarding Islam. Besides, this question from only two people does not imply, in any way, that the majority at that time had no idea of the proper times for prayer, particularly when we know that Jābir was not the only narrator of the *ḥadīth* of the prayer times. In fact, a number of Companions narrated it, as is stated by al-Tirmidhī who mentions some of them by

---

[14] In fact, Umm Farwah mentioned a *ḥadīth* regarding the best time of offering a prayer. She said, "The Prophet of Allāh was asked, 'Which of the actions is best?' He replied, 'Observing prayer early in its period.'" See Dāwūd, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 426; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 127, ḥ. no. 170; *Musnad* 3, ḥ. no. 26562, 26564 & 26930.

[15] Dāraquṭnī, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 975; Mālik, k. *Wuqūt al-Ṣalāh*, ḥ. no. 1; Bukhārī, k. *Mawāqīt al-Ṣalāh*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 521. See also *Fatḥ*, vol. 2, p. 4.

[16] *Fatḥ*, vol. 2, p. 5.

name, including: Abū Hurayrah, Buraydah, Abū Mūsā, Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, 'Amr b. Ḥazm, al-Barā', Anas b. Mālik,[17] and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar.[18] Al-Daraquṭnī narrates the same *ḥadīth* on the authority of another two Companions, namely Ibn 'Umar[19] and Mujammi' b. Jāriyah.[20] Al-Suyūṭī considered it to be a *mutawātir ḥadīth*, mentioning that it was also narrated by Ibn 'Abbās and others.[21]

Goldziher's allegation that pious people invented the *ḥadīth*, 'There will come emirs after me who will kill (*yumītūna*) the *Ṣalāt* ... .':

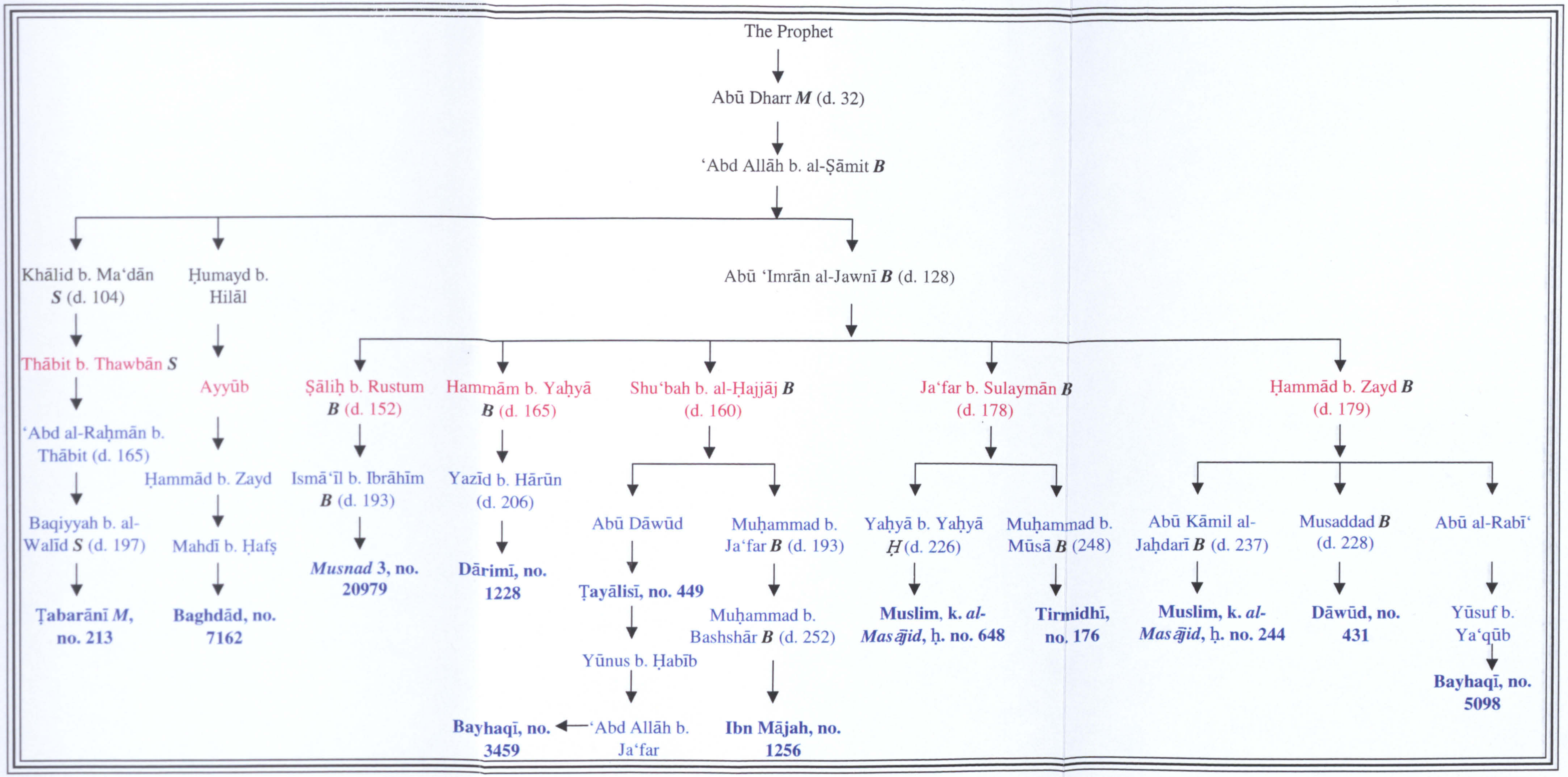
Goldziher's allegation that the pious invented the *ḥadīth*, "There will come emirs after me who will kill the *ṣalāt* (*yumītūna*) but continue to pray the *ṣalāt* ... ," as a result of the Umayyad government's failure to support them in efforts which seemed unimportant to the latter, needs to be reexamined. It is the fact that it was not the wont of the Umayyads to have kept silent about anything that might have threatened their authority, that leads us to believe that they would have reacted in one way or another against this *ḥadīth* if it was intended to refer to them. However, there is nothing to prove that this was the case. If Goldziher's allegation is true, then the *ḥadīth* would not have been disseminated more widely in the 'Abbāsid era than

[17] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 113, ḥ. no. 149.
[18] Ibid., bā. no. 114, ḥ. no. 151.
[19] Dāraquṭnī, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 1007 & 1018.
[20] Ibid., ḥ. no. 1013.
[21] Ṣuyūṭī *QA*, pp. 73-4.

under the Umayyads, since he makes it clear that the *Sunnah* found favour and official recognition under the Abbāsids,[22] as can be seen from the following diagram (See page no. 226-9). Furthermore, there was in fact no reason to invent this *ḥadīth* in disparagement of the Umayyads since the deferment of the prayer until the end of its time is legally permissible in any case.[23] Finally, the way in which this *ḥadīth* was presented by its narrators gives an indication of whether the pious invented it or not.

[22] Goldziher says, "From the above account it is evident that the rule of the 'Abbāsid dynasty favoured the development of religious law and the cultivation of public law in the religious spirit, during the time of its flowering as well as in the epoch of its decline when the troubled circumstances of the time gave more and more scope for the influence of pietist elements," and says, "The rise of the 'Abbāsid dynasty is thus the time when the movement to establish the sunna as a science and as the standard of life received official recognition," and says, "Theologians now find the ground prepared to make accepted in practice the sunna which in the Umayyad period was pushed into the background and in part was still quite unknown." See Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 71, 75 and 76 respectively.

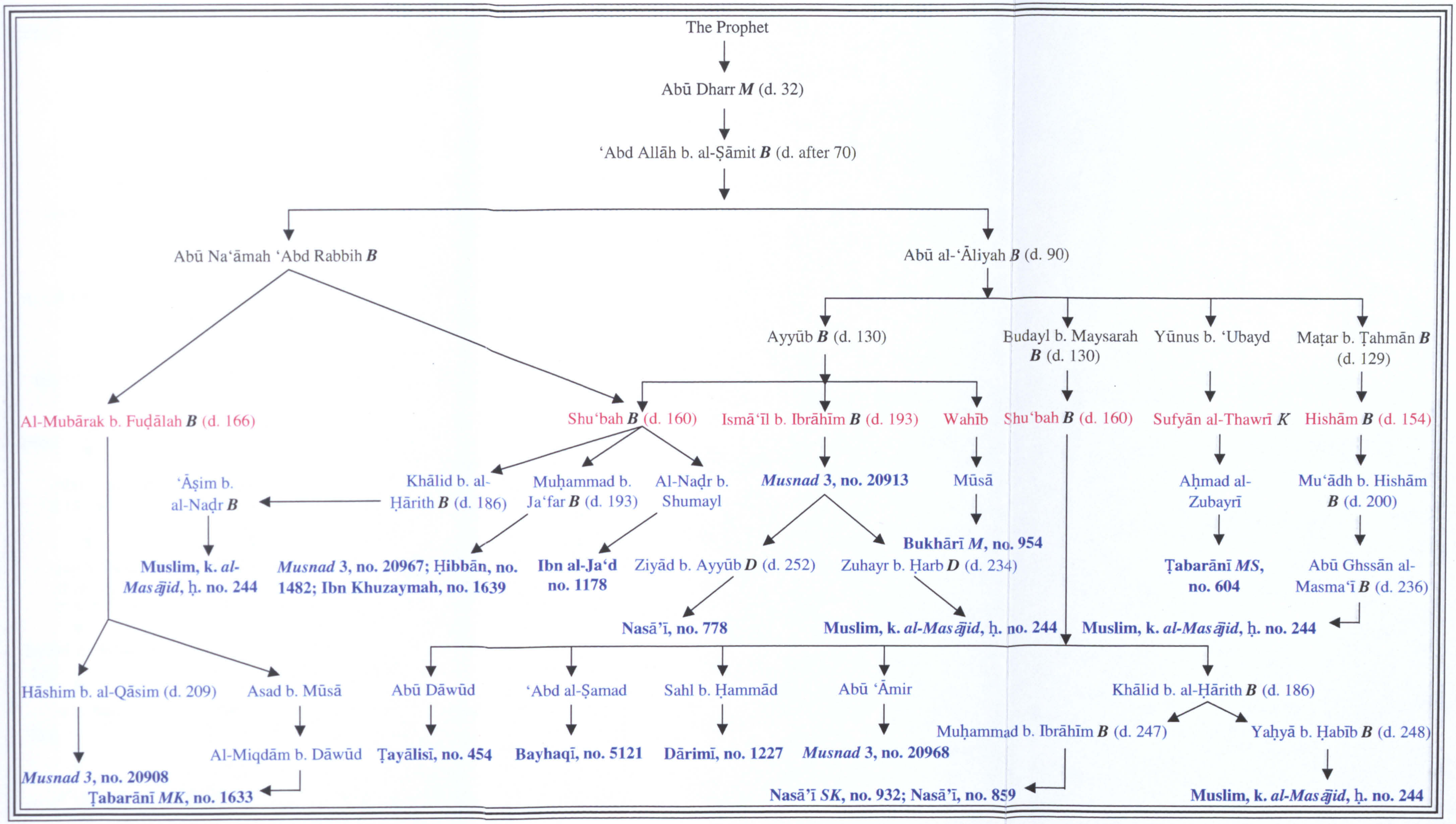
[23] See the above narration by Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, page 221. In addition, the remainder of the *ḥadīth*, which Goldziher cites, itself clearly states that the prayer of those who offer their prayer at the end of its appointed time is acceptable. Besides, if this *ḥadīth* had been invented by the pious, they would, on its basis, have to have judged this prayer as invalid, and they would not have committed themselves to praying twice, once at the beginning of the prayer time by themselves, and again with the rulers at the end of its time.



B. Resident in al-Baṣrah. ***D.*** Resident in Baghdād. ***Ḥ.*** Resident in Ḥimṣ. ***K.*** Resident in al-Kufah. ***N.*** Resident in al-Anbār

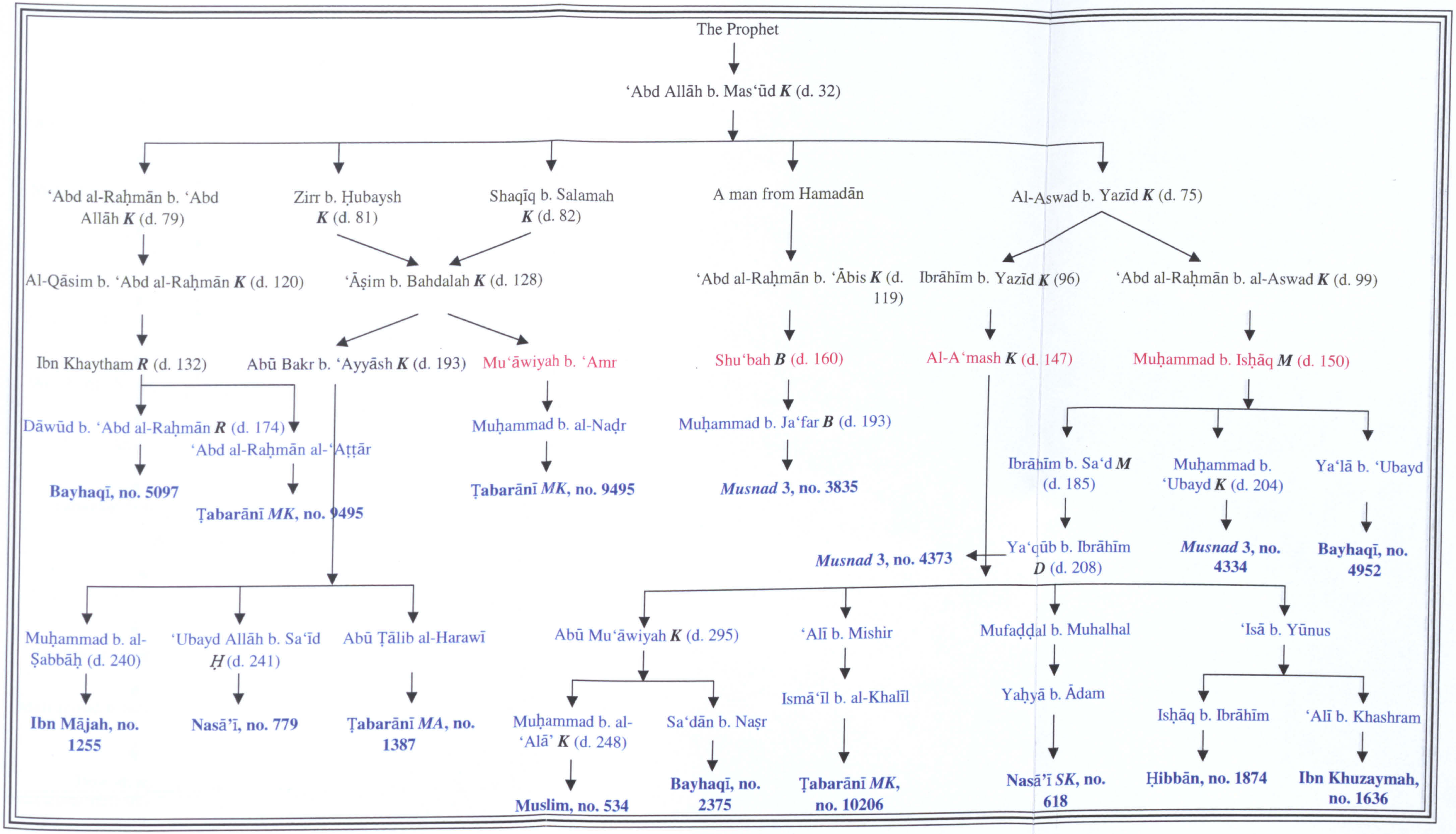
M. Resident in Madīnah. ***R.*** Resident in Marw al-Rawdh. ***S.*** Resident in al-Shām. ***Y.*** Resident in al-Yamāmah.

Names with Green colour who lived under the Umayyad rule.
Names with Blue colour who lived under the 'Abbāsid rule.
Names with Red colour who lived under both eras.



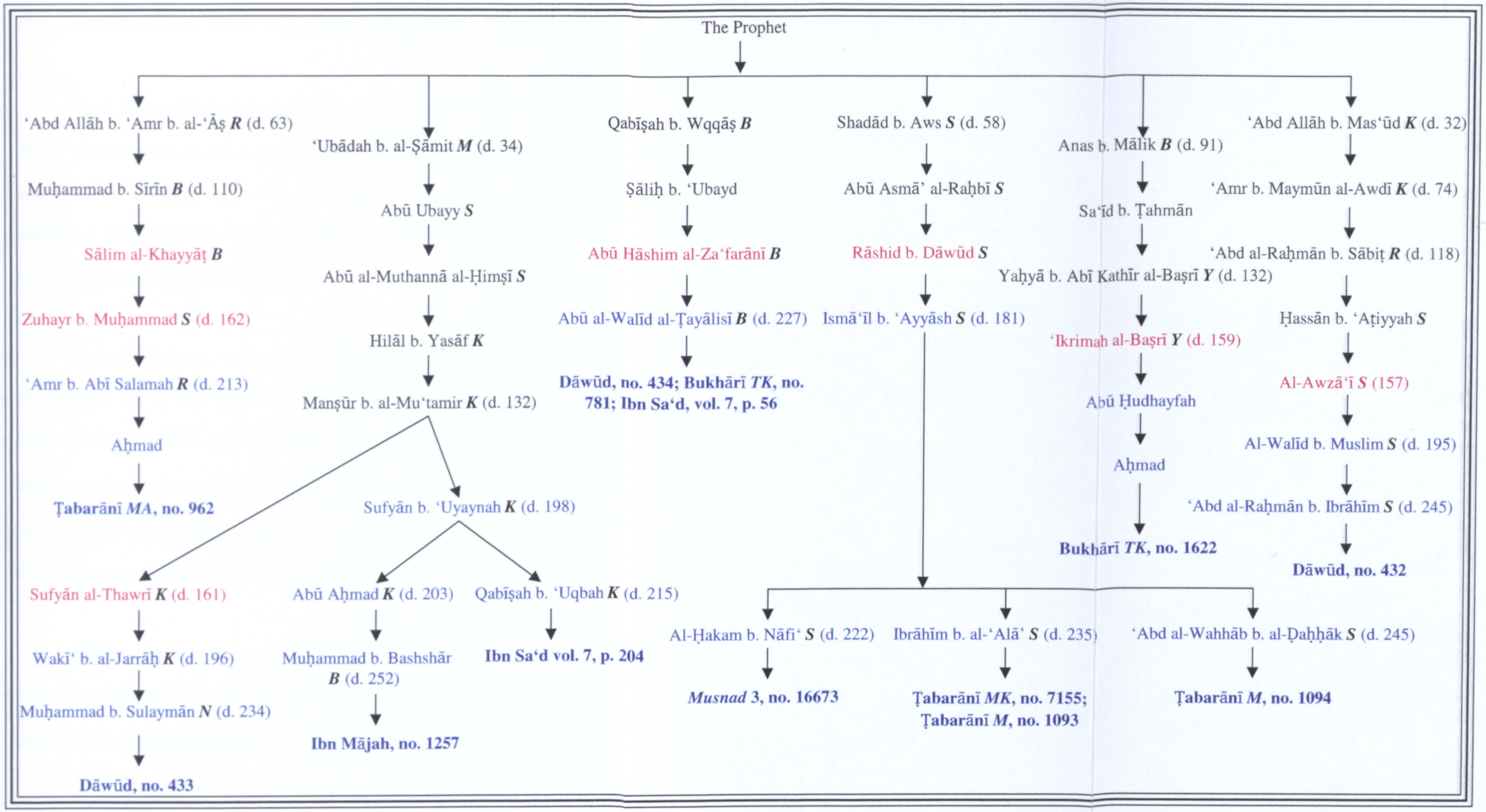
B. Resident in al-Baṣrah.
M. Resident in Madīnah.
D. Resident in Baghdād.
R. Resident in Marw al-Rawdh.
Ḥ. Resident in Ḥimṣ.
S. Resident in al-Shām.
K. Resident in al-Kufah.
Y. Resident in al-Yamāmah.

Names with Green colour who lived under the Umayyad rule.
Names with Blue colour who lived under the ʻAbbāsid rule.
Names with Red colour who lived under both eras.



B. Resident in al-Baṣrah.
M. Resident in Madīnah.
D. Resident in Baghdād.
R. Resident in Marw al-Rawdh.
Ḥ. Resident in Ḥimṣ.
S. Resident in al-Shām.
K. Resident in al-Kufah.
Y. Resident in al-Yamāmah.

Names with Green colour who lived under the Umayyad rule.
Names with Blue colour who lived under the 'Abbāsid rule.
Names with Red colour who lived under both eras.



B. Resident in al-Baṣrah.
M. Resident in Madīnah.
D. Resident in Baghdād.
R. Resident in Marw al-Rawdh.
Ḥ. Resident in Ḥimṣ.
S. Resident in al-Shām.
K. Resident in al-Kufah.
Y. Resident in al-Yamāmah.
N. Resident in al-Anbār

Names with Green colour who lived under the Umayyad rule.
Names with Blue colour who lived under the 'Abbāsid rule.
Names with Red colour who lived under both eras.

From the previous chains (*isnāds*) we notice the following:

First: The *ḥadīth* was narrated by narrators residing in Baṣrah, Kufah and al-Shām. The invention of such a *ḥadīth* with identical words and expressions by narrators from the places just mentioned would require that they had conferred, or travelled a great deal from one place to another in order to introduce and propagate it, and there is no proof that this happened.

Second: When we look at the biographical history of these narrators, we do not find that any of them had any enmity against the Umayyads that might have urged them to invent this *ḥadīth* in order to take revenge, or simply degrade them.[24] Moreover, the scholars of *al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* did not judge any of these narrators to be an inventor of a *ḥadīth* or a liar. On the contrary, the vast majority of them were described as reliable authorities whose narration should be accepted.

Third: If we take the *'aṣr* prayer as an example, we find that a number of those who narrated this *ḥadīth* would frequently offer this prayer at the end of its respective time, including Ibn Mas'ūd,[25] al-Aswad b. Yazīd,[26] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-

---

[24] Such as: *Mīzān*; *Nubalā'*; *Ḥātim*; *Majrūḥīn*; *Tahdhīb*; Bukhārī *ḌṢ* and Nasā'ī *Ḍ*.

[25] *Muṣannaf* 1, vol. 1, p. 551, ḥ. no. 2089; Dāraquṭnī, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 997:

عن عبدالرحمن بن يزيد أن ابن مسعود كان يؤخر العصر.

See also *Muṣannaf*, vol. 1, p. 289, ḥ. no. 3310.

[26] *Muṣannaf*, vol. 1, p. 289, ḥ. no. 3311:

عن إبراهيم قال : ''كان ابن أخي الأسود مؤذنهم فكان يعجل العصر، فقال له الأسود: 'لتطيعنا في أذاننا أو تعتزلن مؤذنينا.'''

Aswad[27] and Muḥammad b. Sīrīn.[28] In general, the pious who offered prayers at the end of their times were numerous. For instance, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib[29] (d. 40/660), Abū Hurayrah[30] (d. 57/676), Ibn 'Abbās[31] (d. 68/687), 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar[32] (d. 73/692), Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyah[33] (d. 80/699), Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī[34] (d. 96/714), Abū Qilābah 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd[35] (d. 104/722) and his son; Khalid,[36] Ṭāwūs[37] (d. 106/724), al-Ḥasan[38] (d. 110/728), Ibn Ṭāwūs[39] (d. 132/749), etc.

---

[27] Ibid., h. no. 3314:

عن أبي اسحاق قال: ''أتيتُ عبدالرحمن بن الأسود وهو يتوضأ فقال: 'غلبنا الحرّاكون على صلاتنا عجلوا بها' يعني العصر.''

[28] *Muṣannaf* 1, vol. 1, p. 551, ḥ. no. 2088, see also ḥ. no. 2087; Dāraquṭnī, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 994:

عن خالد الحذاء أن الحسن وابن سيرين وأبا قلابة كانوا يمسون بالعصر.

[29] *Muṣannaf*, vol. 1, p. 288, ḥ. no. 3308:

عن ابن عون عن أبي عاصم عن أبي عون أن علياً كان يؤخر العصر حتى ترتفع الشمس على الحيطان.

[30] Ibid., ḥ. no. 3309:

عن سوار بن شبيب عن أبي هريرة أنه كان يؤخر العصر حتى أقول قد اصفرت الشمس.

[31] *Muṣannaf* 1, vol. 1, p. 550, ḥ. no. 2081:

عن عبدالله بن يزيد قال: ''رأيت ابن عباس يصلي العصر أحياناً حين يصلي الظهر ويصلي الظهر أحياناً حين يصلي العصر.''

[32] *Muṣannaf*, vol. 1, p. 288, ḥ. no. 3300:

عن ابن جريج عن نافع قال: ''كان ابن عمر يصلي العصر والشمس بيضاء نقية يعجلها مرة ويؤخرها أخرى.''

[33] Dāraquṭnī, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 995:

عن ابن شبرمة قال: قال محمد بن الحنفية: ''إنما سميت العصر لتعصر.''

[34] *Muṣannaf*, vol. 1, p. 289, ḥ. no. 3312:

عن الأعمش عن إبراهيم قال: ''كان من قبلكم أشد تأخيراً للعصر منكم.''

And ḥ. no. 3313:

عن وكيع قال، قال لي إبراهيم: ''لاتقم العصر حتى لاتسمع حولك مؤذناً.''

[35] See footnote no. 28.

[36] *Muṣannaf*, vol. 1, p. 289, ḥ. no. 3318:

عن خالد بن أبي قلابة قال: ''إنما سميت العصر لتعصر.''

[37] *Muṣannaf* 1, vol. 1, p. 550, ḥ. no. 2082:

عن ابن جريج قال أخبرني إبراهيم بن ميسرة عن طاووس أنه كان يُؤخر العصر حتى تصفر الشمس جداً، قلت لإبراهيم ''أمر رأيته؟'' قال: ''بل كان يعد لذلك، كان يقيم اليومين والثلاثة بمكة أن يصلي كذلك.''

Dāraquṭnī, k. *al-Ṣalah*, bā. no. 8, ḥ. no. 996:

عن مصعب بن محمد عن رجل قال: ''أخر طاووس العصر جداً. فقيل له في ذلك، فقال: 'إنما سميت العصر لتعصر.'''

[38] See footnote no. 28.

[39] *Muṣannaf* 1, vol. 1, p. 550, ḥ. no. 2082:

قال ابن جريج: ''كان ابن طاووس يعجلها مرة ويؤخّرها مرة.''

On the grounds of the above we can conclude that the assertion that the pious invented the *ḥadīth* in question is without foundation and should be firmly rejected.

SECTION 3

DISCUSSION OF THE DISSATISFACTION OF THE PIOUS SCHOLARS AND THEIR DENUNCIATION AND DEFIANCE OF THE TYRANNICAL RULE OF THE UMAYYADS

Goldziher says,

> "Pious people of Sa'īd's kind frowned at the state of affairs under such rule; they decried the tyrannical government, defied it by passive resistance and even showed their dissatisfaction openly [citing: al-Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 339, II; 340, bottom]. ... In return they were hated and despised by the ruling circles."[40]

Before commenting any further on Goldziher's theory, it is useful to present the relevant references provided by him:

The first text is as follows:

"وولى الوليد عمر بن عبد العزيز المدينة. وأمر أن يقف هشام بن إسماعيل للناس. وكان هشام بن إسماعيل المخزومي قد أساء السيرة، وجار في الأحكام، وتحامل على آل رسول الله. فلما قدم عمر قال هشام: 'ما أخاف إلا علي بن الحسين.' فمر به وهو موقوف، فسلم عليه، فناداه هشام: 'الله أعلم حيث يجعل رسالاته.' ولم يعرض له سعيد بن المسيب ولا لأحد من أسبابه وحاميته."

[40] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 41.

"Al-Walīd appointed 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as ruler of Madīnah. He also ordered that Hishām b. Ismā'īl should stand before the people [in order for them to voice their complaints against him]. Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī ill-treated people, made unjust verdicts and had prejudice against the family of the Prophet. When 'Umar came to Madīnah, Hishām said, 'I only fear 'Alī b. al-Husayn.' 'Alī passed by Hishām while he was standing. He ['Alī] saluted him. Hishām then said loudly to him: 'Allāh knows best where He places His messages.' Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib did not take revenge from Hishām, nor any of his relatives or supporters."

The second text:

"... وكتب إلى عمر بن عبد العزيز أن يهدم مسجد رسول الله، ويدخل فيه المنازل التي حوله، ويُدخل فيه حجرات أزواج النبيّ، وهدم الحجرات، وأدخل ذلك في المسجد. ولما بدأ بهدم الحجرات قام خُبَيْب بن عبد الله بن الزبير إلى عمر والحجرات تهدم فقال: 'نشدتك الله يا عمر أن تذهب بآية من كتاب الله، يقول: ﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يُنَادُونَكَ مِنْ وَرَاءِ الْحُجُرَاتِ...﴾'، فأمر به فضرب مائة سوط ونضح بالماء البارد فمات وكان يوماً بارداً. فكان عمر لمّا ولي الخلافة وصار إلى ما صار إليه من الزهد يقول: 'من لي بخبيب.'"

"... He wrote to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz instructing him to demolish and rebuild the Prophet's Mosque to include the surrounding houses and the dwellings of the Prophet's wives. He demolished the dwellings and added their space to the Mosque. When he started demolishing the dwellings, Khubayb b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr stood up to 'Umar while the dwellings were being demolished and said, 'I implore you by Allāh, O 'Umar, not to eradicate a verse from the Book of Allāh.'; Allāh says, "Those who call you from behind the dwellings ..."'. He ('Umar) ordered Khubayb to be whipped a hundred stripes and for cold water to be poured on him. It was a cold day and he died as a result. When 'Umar became caliph and led a pious and ascetic life, he used to say, 'Who can rescue me from Khubayb.'"

The third text:

"وحج الوليد سنة 91 لينظر إلى البيت وإلى المسجد وما أصلح منه وإلى البيت وتذهيبه. فلمّا قرب من المدينة خرج عمر فتلقّاه باشراف المدينة، فدخل المسجد وجعل ينظر إليه، وأخرج الحرس كلّ من كان فيه خلا سعيد بن المسيّب فإنه لم يخرج ولم يترجرج، فدخل الوليد، فجعل يطوف وسعيد بن المسيّب جالس، ثم قال الوليد: 'أحسب هذا سعيد بن المسيّب؟' فقال له عمر: 'نعم، ومن حاله وحاله إلا انه ضعيف البصر.' فجاء الوليد حتى وقف عليه فقال: 'كيف أنت أيها الشيخ؟' فما تحرك، وقال: 'نحن بخير يا أمير المؤمنين، وكيف أنت؟' وانصرف الوليد وهو يقول لعمر: 'هذا بقيّة الناس.'"

"Al-Walīd made the journey to *ḥajj* in 91 [AH] to have a look at the refurbishment of the Sacred Mosque in Makkah and the Prophet's Mosque in Madīnah. When he came close to Madīnah, 'Umar met him at the outskirts of Madīnah. He entered the Mosque and started to look at it. The guards moved everybody out of the Mosque except for Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib who neither left nor moved. Al-Walīd started to tour the Mosque while Sa'īd was sitting down. Then he said, 'I believe this man to be Sa'īd b. al-Musayyb.' 'Umar replied, 'Yes, and he is such and such a man [speech abridged by narrator] except that he has poor eyesight.' Al-Walīd came until he stood near Sa'īd and said to him, 'How are you *ayyuhā al-shaykh*?' Sa'īd did not move a bit and said, 'We are well, O Prince of the Faithful, and how are you?' Al-Walīd then went away saying to 'Umar, 'This is the remainder of the people who know about the *dīn*.'"

Goldziher's claim regarding the dissatisfaction of the pious scholars and their denunciation and defiance of the tyrannical rule of the Umayyads is made with regards to the whole period of their rule, and also encompasses the entire Umayyad state which stretched from the western borders of China

to the South of France.[41] However, the texts which he cites are related to a specific period of time not exceeding five years in duration. This period extends from al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik's appointment of ‘Umar II as ruler of Madīnah in 87/705 to his performance of *ḥajj* in 91/709. In addition, his evidence relates to only one city of the Umayyad Empire, i.e. Madīnah.

We are ultimately confronted with three incidents:

1- The injustice and oppression under Hishām b. Ismā‘īl.

2- The whipping of Khubayb b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr on the orders of ‘Umar II.

3- The moving of people out of the Mosque and Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyb's refusal to leave.

1- The injustice and oppression under Hishām b. Ismā‘īl:

It would seem that Hishām's oppressive tendencies became evident only when he had Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib whipped, i.e. shortly before the death of ‘Abd al-Malik. This is what was indicated by Ibn Ḥajar when he said, "... and people hated Hishām b. Ismā‘īl for that."[42] It can also be deduced from al-Ya‘qūbī's statement, "Hishām b. Ismā‘īl became the ruler of Madīnah. He whipped Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib

---

[41] The Umayyad caliphate established in 661 was to last for about a century. In the Umayyad caliphate Islam had spread to three continents. Not only did the Islamic conquests continue during this period through North Africa to Spain and France in the West and to Sind, Central Asia and Transoxiana in the East, but the basic social and legal institutions of the newly founded Islamic world were established.
[42] *Ta'jīl*, p. 431.

sixty stripes and took him round the streets. ‘Abd al-Malik wrote to Hishām and reprimanded him for that. Thus Hishām’s reputation became bad and then he manifested his enmity to the Family of the Prophet.”[43]

It would appear that Hishām b. Ismā‘īl’s oppression was prompted by personal motives, and not in service to the state or to further the interests of the Umayyads. Had it been otherwise, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib would not have forgiven Hishām and recommended their closest relatives not to take revenge on him even by a single disparaging word,[44] since it was viewed by them as a personal issue. In addition to that, had Hishām’s unjust verdict been in the interests of, or represented the will of Umayyad rule, and had indeed been directed against the pious scholars as Goldziher claims, then the caliph, al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, would not have sacked him and ordered him to stand for requital in public. As it was, such an incident was unprecedented, especially when we take into account two factors:

---

[43] Ya‘qūbī, ol. 1, p. 280.

[44] Ṭabarī, vol. 7, p. 328:

قال الواقدي: ”فحدثني داود بن جبير قال أخبرتني أم ولد سعيد بن المسيب أن سعيداً دعا ابنه ومواليه فقال إن هــذا الرجــل يوقف للناس أو قد وُقِفَ فلا يتعرض له أحد ولا يؤذه بكلمة، فإنا سنترك ذلك لله والرحم، فإن كان ما علمت [حقاً] لســيء النظر لنفسه، فأما كلامه فلا أكلمه أبداً.

قال وحدثني محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عمر عن أبيه قال: كان هشام بن إسماعيل يسيء جوارنا ويؤذينا، ولقي منه علي بن الحسين أذى شديداً، فلما عزل أمر به الوليد أن يُوقف للناس، فقال ما أخاف إلا من عليٍّ بن الحسين، فمر به علي وقــد وُقِفَ عند دار مروان، وكان علي قد تقدم إلى خاصته ألا يعرض له أحد منهم بكلمة، فلما مر ناداه هشام الله أعلم حيث يجعــل رسالاته.“

First: The close relation between Hishām and the caliph – he was in fact the maternal uncle of Hishām b. ʻAbd al-Malik, the brother of al-Walīd b. ʻAbd al-Malik[45] – which lends gravity to his disciplining of Hishām.

Second: The reason for Hishām b. Ismāʻīl's whipping of Saʻīd b. al-Musayyib was his refusal to pledge allegiance to al-Walīd b. ʻAbd al-Malik. It would have been, if this was the case, more appropriate for al-Walīd to reward Hishām rather than to sack him and order him to stand before people for requital [in order for them to voice their complaints against him].

It should also be noted that the narrations of al-Ṭabarī[46] and Ibn Kathīr[47] confirm that Hishām's injustice was general and a personal trait that was not simply employed in the interests of Umayyad rule.

When we approach his enmity against the family of the Prophet, we should not forget the high status given to this family by the people of

[45] Ibn Saʻd, vol. 5, p. 240; *Taʻjīl*, p. 431.

[46] Ṭabarī, vol. 7, p. 328:

قال وحدثني محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عمر عن أبيه قال: كان هشام بن إسماعيل يسيء جوارنا ويؤذينا، ولقي منه علي بن الحسين أذى شديداً، فلما عزل أمر به الوليد أن يُوقف للناس، فقال ما أخاف إلا من عليّ بن الحسين، فمر به علي وقد وُقِفَ عند دار مروان، وكان علي قد تقدم إلى خاصته ألا يعرض له أحد منهم بكلمة، فلما مر ناداه هشام الله أعلم حيث يجعل رسالاته."

[47] *Bidāyah*, vol. 9, p. 76:

(ثم دخلت سنة سبع وثمانين): "وكتب الوليد إلى عمر بن عبد العزيز بأن يوقف هشام بن إسماعيل للناس عند دار مروان – وكان يسيء الرأي فيه – لأنه أساء إلى أهل المدينة في مدة ولايته عليهم، و كان نحواً من أربع سنين، ولا سيما إلى سعيد بن المسيب وعلي ابن الحسين. قال سعيد بن المسيب لابنه ومواليه: 'لا يعرض منكم أحد لهذا الرجل فيّ، تركت ذلك لله و للرحم. و أما كلامه فلا أكلمه أبداً.' و أما علي بن الحسين فإنه مر به و هو موقوف، فلم يتعرض له، وكان قد تقدم إلى خاصته أن لا يعرض أحد منهم له، فلما اجتاز به وتجاوزه ناداه هشام: 'الله يعلم حيث يجعل رسالاته.'"

Madīnah. Anyone who suffered an injustice would seek their help, especially that of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, and this was what created friction and conflict between 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and Hishām. Indeed, due to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn's objections to the unjust verdicts made by Hishām, Hishām said to him, when 'Umar II ordered Hishām to stand before people for public requital, "Allāh knows best where He places His messages," meaning by this that Allāh had placed 'Umar in authority over the people of Madīnah, and not 'Alī.

2- The whipping of Khubayb b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr on the orders of 'Umar II.

The whipping of Khubayb is mentioned only briefly by al-Ya'qūbī, leading to the omission of a number of facts:

First: Khubayb's punishment was not merely due to his putting forward of his opinion, or his reminding 'Umar II of a verse from the Qur'ān, as been indicated by al-Ya'qūbī. The matter went far beyond that: Khubayb objected to a policy which had been unanimously agreed by the scholars, shouted inside the Mosque, and alleged that a verse had been eradicated from the Qur'ān by the demolition of the dwellings of the Prophet's wives.[48] Therefore, in view of the caliph, he deserved punishment for unruliness and false allegation.

[48] *'Uyūn*, vol. 3, p. 4:

Second: The reading by ‘Umar II of al-Walīd’s letter to the people of Madīnah and their acceptance of the demolition.[49] It is worth mentioning that since his arrival in Madīnah, ‘Umar II took a pledge upon himself, before the pious scholars of Madīnah, that he would not decide on any matter without consulting them first.[50] This indicates the extent of the cooperation between this Umayyad ruler and the pious scholars. In fact, a number of distinguished and pious scholars took part in the demolition, including al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Utbah, Khārijah b. Zayd and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar,[51] who were among those before whom ‘Umar II took his pledge of consultation.[52] Consequently, Khubayb deserved punishment for contradicting the consensus of the scholars of Madīnah.

Third: The order for the whipping did not come from ‘Umar, it was issued by the caliph himself, i.e. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik. This was

---

"فلما شرع عمر بن عبد العزيز رضي الله عنه في ذلك صاح خبيب بن عبد الله بن الزبير في مسجد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وحُجَر أزواجه تُهدم: "اليومَ مُحِيَتْ آيةٌ من كتاب الله تعالى: (إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يُنَادُونَكَ مِنْ وَرَاءِ الْحُجُرَاتِ أَكْثَرُهُمْ لَا يَعْقِلُونَ).

[49] Ṭabarī, vol. 7, p. 335:

"... فأقرأهم كتاب الوليد وهم عنده، فأجاب القوم إلى الثمن، فأعطاهم إياه، وأخذ في هدم بيوت أزواج النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وبناء المسجد ... ."

[50] Ṭabarī, vol. 7, p. 327. See also *Bidāyah*, vol. 9, p. 76.

[51] Ibid., p. 335.

[52] Ibid., p. 327.

confirmed by al-Bukhārī,[53] al-Ṭabarī,[54] Ibn Ḥajar,[55] al-Dhahabī[56] and other scholars. Following the objection and allegation made by Khubayb, a letter was dispatched to al-Walīd. Al-Walīd then ordered ʻUmar to give Khubayb a hundred stripes and then pour a waterskin full of cold water on his head.[57] Thus the whipping of Khubayb was ordered by the same person who put an end to the injustice of Hishām b. Ismāʻīl and ordered that he stand for requital [in order for them to voice their complaints against him], and it can be seen that both are indeed stamped with the same personality.

Thus it can be understood that the allegation and objection made by Khubayb as well as the way in which he made his point was genuinely inappropriate. As a result, he deserved discipline in the caliph's view, and unfortunately met his death as a consequence.

---

[53] Bukhārī *TK*, vol. 3, p. 208, no. 714:

"... كتب الوليد إلى عمر وهو على المدينة أن يضرب خبيب بن عبد الله بن الزبير ... ."

[54] Ṭabarī, vol. 7, 384:

"وفيها ضرب عمر بن عبد العزيز خبيب بن عبد الله بن الزبير بأمر من الوليد إياه، وصب على رأسه قربة من ماء بارد."

[55] *Tahdhīb*, vol. 3, p. 135, no. 257:

"كان الوليد بن عبد الملك كتب إلى عمر بن عبد العزيز وهو عامله على المدينة يأمره أن يجلده مائة سوط ... ."

[56] *Nubalā'*, vol. 5, 120:

"كتب الوليد إلى عمر –وهو على المدينة– أن يضرب خبيب ... ."

[57] *'Uyūn*, vol. 3, p. 4:

"فلما شرع عمر بن عبد العزيز رضي الله عنه في ذلك، صاح خبيب بن عبد الله بن الزبير في مسجد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وحُجَر أزواجه تُهدم: 'اليومَ مُحِيَتْ آيةٌ من كتاب الله تعالى: (إن الذين ينادونك من وراء الحجرت أكثرهم لايعقلون).' فكتب بذلك صاحب البريد إلى الوليد بن عبد الملك. فكتب الوليد إلى عمر بن عبد العزيز يأمره بجلد خبيب بن عبد الله مائة سَوْطٍ وأن يصب على رأسه قِرْبَةً من مآءٍ بارد. فضربه في يوم بارد وصب عليه المآء فمات فكان عُمر أبداً يقول: 'هبني ضربتُه فلا صببتُ عليه المآء البارد.'"

3- The moving of people out of the Mosque and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib's refusal to leave:

Regarding the moving of people from the Mosque, we do not find anything here to support Goldziher's claim. The Islamic dominion had greatly expanded as we have previously indicated; and the office of caliph gained recognition over a great part of the world. It seems that the moving of people out of the Mosque was first of all a matter of organization, since it is likely that the caliph's progress would have been impeded by well-wishers and curious onlookers, and secondly was intended to give the caliph a chance to fully inspect the radical changes that had been made in the Mosque. In order to affect these changes, the caliph wrote a letter to 'Umar II[58] instructing him accordingly and sent the provisions that he had received from the King of the Romans to finance the renovations.[59] This is all the more likely to be the case when we take into account that the objective of al-Walīd's journey, besides performing the *ḥajj*, was to inspect the renovations

---

[58] Ṭabarī, vol. 7, p. 335:
"فذكر محمد بن عمر: 'أنّ محمد بن جعفر البنّاء قال: 'رأيت الرسول الذي بعثه الوليد بن عبد الملك قدم في شهر ربيع الأول سنة ثمان وثمانين ... فدخل على عمر بن عبد العزيز بكتاب الوليد يأمره بإدخال حُجر أزواج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في مسجد رسول الله، وأن يشتري ما في مؤخره ونواحيه حتى يكون مائتي ذراع، ويقول له: 'قدّم القبلة إن قدرت، وأنت تقدر لمكان أخوالك، فإنهم لا يخالفونك، فمن أبى منهم فمر أهل المصر فليقوّموا له قيمة عدل، ثم أهدم عليهم وادفع إليهم الأثمان، فإن لك في ذلك سلف صدق، عمر وعثمان.'''

[59] Ibid., p. 336:
"قال محمد [بن عمر الواقدي]: '... وبعث الوليد إلى صاحب الروم يعلمه أنه أمر بهدم مسجد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، وأن يعينه فيه، فبعث إليه بمائة ألف مثقال ذهب، وبعث إليه بمائة عامل، وبعث إليه من الفسيفساء بأربعين حملاً، وامر أن يتتبع الفسيفساء في المدائن التي خربت، فبعث بها إلى الوليد، فبعث بذلك الوليد إلى عمر بن عبد العزيز.'''
Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, 284:

that he had ordered in various Mosques, as is indicated by al-Ya'qūbī's statement. We should not forget that Hishām's guards whipped Sa'īd and took him round the streets of Madīnah in the manner of a monkey, thus, had there been a will they were more than capable of taking him out of the Mosque by force. However, despite Sa'īd's refusal to move, the narration itself indicates that al-Walīd praised Ibn al-Musayyib and acknowledged his virtues by saying to 'Umar, "This is the remainder of the people who know about the *dīn*."

An analysis of al-Ya'qūbī's narrations:

When we look closely at the style of al-Ya'qūbī's statements, it becomes clear that they were intended to denigrate the Umayyads.

His second statement strives to underline the harshness of 'Umar II towards his opponents, though in fact, as we have seen, in sanctioning the whipping of Khubayb he was simply carrying out orders. The statement also disregards the real justifications for Khubayb's whipping. Furthermore, it is alleged that 'Umar did not feel remorse for the death of Khubayb except when he adopted an ascetic way of life much later, though by all accounts this was not true. When 'Umar knew that Khubayb was suffering an increasing pain he became agitated to such a degree that he is compared by

---

"وروى الواقديّ أن الوليد بعث إلى ملك الروم يعلمه أنّه قد هدم مسجد رسول الله، فليعنه فيه، فبعث إليه بمائة ألف مثقـــال ذهباً، ومائة فاعل، وأربعين حملاً فسيفساء، فبعث الوليد بذلك كله إلى عمر، فأصلح به المسجد، وفرغ من بنائه في سنة 90."

witnesses to a woman in labour. He sent al-Mājishūn to see how Khubayb was getting on, and when he was told of his death, he fell to the ground out of fear and then raised his head saying, "Truly! To Allāh we belong and truly, to Him we shall return." (Q. 2:156). The impact of this incident remained with 'Umar until he died.[60] He even went so far as to ask the caliph to excuse him from being the ruler of Madīnah.[61]

The third narration has been edited by the narrator, apparently with the intention of removing various expressions that were used by the caliph in this exchange that indicate humility of bearing. When al-Walīd said, "I believe this man to be Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib," 'Umar said to him, "Yes, and he is such and such a man though he has poor eyesight." Al-Walīd then said, "It is we who will go and greet him." In addition, when Ibn al-Musayyib asked the caliph how he was, the caliph answered, "We are well, praise be to

---

[60] *Kamāl* 2, vol. 8, p. 223, no. 1677:

"وكان الوليد بن عبد الملك قد كتب إلى عمر بن عبد العزيز إذ كان واليا له على المدينة يأمره بجلده مائة سوط وبحبسه فجلده عمر مائة سوط وبرد له ماء في جرة ثم صبها عليه في غداة باردة فكز فمات فيها وكان عمر قد أخرجه من السجن حين اشتد وجعه وندم على ما صنع فانتقله آل الزبير في دار من دورهم قال عمي مصعب بن عبد الله أخبرني مصعب بن عثمان أنهم نقلوه الى دار عمر بن مصعب بن الزبير ببقيع الزبير فاجتمعوا عنده حتى مات فبينا هم جلوس إذ جاءهم الماجشون يستأذن عليهم وخبيب مسجى بثوبه وكان الماجشون يكون مع عمر بن عبد العزيز في ولايته على المدينة فقال عبد الله بن عروة: 'ائذنوا له.' فلما دخل قال عبد الله بن عروة: 'كأن صاحبك في مرية من موته، اكشفوا له عنه.' فكشفوا عنه، فلما رآه الماجشون انصرف. قال الماجشون: 'فانتهيت الى دار مروان، فقرعت الباب ودخلت فوجدت عمر كالمرأة الماخض قائما وقاعدا، فقال لي: 'ما وراءك؟' فقلت: 'مات الرجل.' فسقط إلى الأرض فزعا ثم رفع رأسه يسترجع، فلم يزل يُعرف فيه حتى مات، واستعفى من المدينة، وامتنع من الولاية، وكان يقال له إنك قد فعلت كذا فأبشر فيقول: 'فكيف بخبيب!''' قال وحدثني عمي مصعب بن عبد الله قال حدثني هارون بن أبي عبد الله عن عبد الله بن مصعب أبي قال سمعت أصحابنا يقولون قسم فينا عمر بن عبد العزيز قسما في خلافته خصنا فيه فقال الناس دية خبيب."

[61] *Kamāl* 2, vol. 8, p. 223, no. 1677:

"... واستعفى من المدينة وامتنع من الولاية."

Tahdhīb, vol. 3, p. 135, no. 257:

"... واستعفى من المدينة وامتنع من الولاية."

Allāh." Finally, the narration does not mention the confirmation by 'Umar II "O yes, Prince of the Faithful" which followed al-Walīd's praise of Ibn al-Musayyib when he said, "This is the remainder of the people who know about the *dīn*." These expressions are mentioned in both al-Ṭabarī[62] and ***al-'Uyūn wa al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq***.[63] We must bear in mind that the source of narration for all that was al-Wāqidī.

We should take into account that in fact most of the narrations about the Umayyads were written during the 'Abbāsid era, where ill-opinion of the Umayyads was not uncommon. Therefore, it is the duty of a historian to be cautious when he writes on the Umayyads, as the entire literature available on the subject is the product of a period where anti-Umayyad sentiment ran high. In fact al-Ya'qūbī was known as the ''Abbāsid author' (*al-kātib al-'abbāsī*), and Goldziher should have been very careful in his dependence on al-Ya'qūbī's biased narrations. It is not exaggerating to say that he was a fanatical Shi'ite who did not hesitate to mention without investigation any narration that denigrated the Umayyads.[64] The conclusions we have reached from the evidence above is in conformity with that of Goitein when he says:

[62] Ṭabarī , vol. 7, p. 367.

[63] *'Uyūn*, vol. 3, pp. 6-7.

[64] We will see evidently his disparagement of the Umayyads when we discuss his account, which also Goldziher relies upon in accusing the caliph, 'Abd al-Malik, of changing the site of the *ḥajj* to Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah.

"This historian of definite Shi'ite leanings strove to disparage the Umayyads."[65]

We can say that the evidence cited by Goldziher does not provide adequate support for his claim that the pious scholars "...frowned at the state of affairs under such rule; they decried the tyrannical government, defied it by passive resistance and even showed their dissatisfaction openly."

[65] Hirschberg, "The Sources of Moslim Traditions concerning Jerusalem," p. 318.

SECTION 4

DISCUSSION OF AL-ḤAJJĀJ'S MISTREATMENT OF ANAS IBN MĀLIK

Goldziher says,

> "In return they [pious people] were hated and despised by the ruling circles. It is sufficient to consider the way in which al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf deals with Anas b. Mālik; he rebukes him like a criminal and threatens 'to grind him as millstones would grind and to make him a target for arrows.' [citing: Abū Ḥan. Din., p. 327, 6 ff. A much extended version of this story is quoted by al-Damīrī (s.v. *al-ṣadā*), II, pp. 71 f., cf. *al-'Iqd*, III, pp. 17 ff]."[66]

As for al-Ḥajjāj's mistreatment of Anas b. Mālik; this incident can not be generalized as an indication of the character of all of the Umayyad caliphs. Al-Ḥajjāj was well known for his harsh treatment of all those who held a different opinion regardless of whether they were his enemies or not, and he was exceptional in this regard. Furthermore we have to indicate that Goldziher totally ignores the rest of the events constituting the story. He took from it only those elements which supported his theory and omitted to consider those that contradict it. The story in its entirety includes significant events that make clear that Goldziher's citation was misplaced and improper. These events are:

[66] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 41.

A. Anas's complaint to 'Abd al-Malik and his demand that al-Ḥajjāj should be punished.[67]

B. 'Abd al-Malik's attitude towards what al-Ḥajjāj did is clearly reflected in the following points:

1- 'Abd al-Malik was very angry with al-Ḥajjāj. He reprehended him and disgraced him by mentioning that his mother used to soak her pudendum in raisin water in order to tighten her vulva. He also reminded him of the menial work that his forefathers did such as digging wells, building dams and carrying rocks on their backs.[68]

---

[67] *Ṭiwāl*, pp. 323-4:
"بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. لعبد الله عبد الملك أمير المؤمنين من أنس ابن مالك؛ أما بعد: فإن الحجّاج قال لي لُكْرا، وأسْمَعَني هُجْرا، ولم أكن لذلك أهْلاً، فَخُذْ على يَدَيْه، وأَعْدِنِي عليه، والسلام."

Bidāyah, vol., 5, p. 69:
"وقال الأعمش: أخبرني محمد ابن الزبير أن أنس ابن مالك كتب إلى عبد الملك يشكو الحجّاج ويقول في كتابه: 'لو أن رجلاً خدم عيسى ابن مريم أو رآه أو صحبه تعرفه النصارى أو تعرف مكانه لهاجرت إليه ملوكهم، ولنزل من قلوبهم بالمنزلة العظيمة ولعرفوا له ذلك، ولو أن رجلاً خدم موسى أو رآه تعرفه اليهود لفعلوا به من الخير والمحبة وغير ذلك ما استطاعوا، وإني خادم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وصاحبه ورأيته وأكلت معه ودخلت وخرجت وجاهدت معه أعداءه، وإن الحجّاج قد أضر بي وفعل وفعل.' قال: أخبرني من شهد عبد الملك يقرأ الكتاب وهو يبكي وبلغ به من الغضب ما شاء الله... ."

See also *al-'Iqd*, vol., 5, p. 30; *Ḥayāt*, vol., 2, p. 82.

[68] *Ṭiwāl*, p. 324; *Ḥayāt*, vol., 2, p. 83; *al-'Iqd*, vol., 5, pp. 31-2:
"بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. من عبد الله عبد الملك ابن مروان إلى الحجّاج ابن يُوسف، أما بعد؛ فإنك عبد طَمَتْ بك الأمور فطغيْتَ، وعلوْتَ فيها حتى جُزت قدرَك، وعدَوْتَ طورك، وأيم الله يابن المُستفرمة بعجم زبيب الطائف، لأغمزنّك كبعض غمزات الليوث للثعالب، ولأركضنّك ركضة تدخل منها في وَجعاء أُمّك؛ أُذكر مكاسب آبائك بالطائف، إذ كانوا ينقلون الحجارة على أكتافهم، ويحفرون الآبار في المناهل بأيديهم؛ فقد نسيت ما كنت عليه أنت وآباؤك من الدناءة واللؤم والضراعة؛ وقد بلغَ أميرَ المؤمنين منك استطالةٌ منك على أنس ابن مالك خادم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، جراةً منك على أمير المؤمنين، وغِرّةً بمعرفة غِيَرِه ونقماته وسطواته على من خالف سبيله وعمد إلى غير محبته، ونزل عند سخطته، وأظنك أردت أن تروزه بها لتعلم ما عنده من التغيير والتنكير فيها، فإن سُوغتها مضيت قُدماً، وإن بُغّضتها وليت دُبراً، فعليك لعنة الله من عبد أخفش العينين، أصك الرجلين، ممسوح الجاعرتين، وأيم الله لو أن أمير المؤمنين علم أنك اجترمت منه جرماً وانتهكت له عرضاً فيما كتب به إلى أمير المؤمنين، لبعث إليك من يسحبك ظهراً لبطن حتى ينتهي بك إلى أنس بن مالك، فيحكم فيك بما أحب، ولن يخفى على أمير المؤمنين نبؤك، ولكل نبأ مستقر وسوف تعلمون."

2- He reminded him of the stature and standing of Anas b. Mālik and his status with the Prophet.[69]

3- He ordered him as soon as he received his letter to go on foot to Anas and apologize to him,[70] and this was exactly what al-Ḥajjāj did.[71]

4- He ordered him to take a written statement from Anas to indicate that he was content and happy, and to send that to him.[72] Again, al-Ḥajjāj complied in full.[73]

C. 'Abd al-Malik's letter of apology to Anas in which he promised that al-Ḥajjāj would never repeat his behavior, since any repetition would result in his being punished severely.[74]

D. Al-Ḥajjāj himself wrote a letter to 'Abd al-Malik in which he apologized for what he had said to Anas. He revealed to him that he was greatly terrified and asked for his forgiveness so that he might enjoy some sleep and tranquillity.[75]

---

[69] *Ṭiwāl*, p. 324:
"... أَبَلَغَ من جُرأتك أن تُعَنِّتَ بأنس ابن مالك خادم رسول الله ست سنين، يُطْلِعهُ على سِّره، ويُفشي إليه الأخبار التي كـالت تأتيه عن ربه ... ."

[70] Ibid., p. 324.
[71] Ibid., p. 324; *al-'Iqd*, vol., 5, p. 32.
[72] *Ṭiwāl*, p. 324.
[73] Ibid., p. 324.
[74] Ibn 'Asākir, vol. 12, p. 172.
"بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. من عبد الملك ابن مروان أمير المؤمنين إلى أنس ابن مالك خادم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، أمـا بعد: فقد قرأتُ كتابك وفهمتُ من شكايتك الحجّاج وما سلطه عليك، ولآمرنه بالإشارة إليك، فإن عاد لمثلها فاكتب إليّ بذلك أُنزِل به عقوبتي وتحسن لك معونتي والسلام."

[75] *Al-'Iqd*, vol., 5, pp. 32-3:

From that time onwards, Anas was greatly revered and respected by al-Ḥajjāj. This is further confirmed by Ismā'īl b. Abī Muhājir when he says, "Al-Ḥajjāj continued to revere and fear him until he [Anas] died."[76] We can conclude from this, that it is irrational to suppose that Anas, who enjoyed such high status and respect with 'Abd al-Malik, would harbour enmity against the Umayyads, or indeed, sufficiently so to have contributed to the invention of *ḥadīths* against them.

وكتب الحجاج إلى أمير المؤمنين عبد الملك بن مروان: "بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. أما بعد؛ أصلح الله أمير المؤمنين وأبقاه، وسهل حظه وحاطه ولا أعدمناه، فإن إسماعيل بن أبي مهاجر رسول أمير المؤمنين –أعزّ الله نصره– قدِمَ عليّ بكتاب أمير المؤمنين أطال الله بقاءه، وجعلني من كل مكروه فداءه، يذكر شتيمتي وتوبيخي بآبائي، وتعييري بما كان قبل نزول النعمة بي من عند أمير المؤمنين، أتم الله نعمته عليه، وإحسانه إليه، ويذكر أمير المؤمنين استطالة مني على أنس بن مالك خادم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، جراة على أمير المؤمنين، وغرة بمعرفة غِيره ونقماته وسطواته على من خالف سبيله وعمد إلى غير محبته ونزل عند سخطته، وأمير المؤمنين –أصلحه الله في قرابته من محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، إمام الهدى وخاتم الأنبياء– أحق من أقال عَثْرَتي وعفا عن ذنبي، أمهلني ولم يُعجلني عند هفوتي للذي جُبِل عليه من كريم طبائعه، وما قلده الله من أمور عباده؛ فرأي أمير المؤمنين –أصلحه الله– في تسكين روعتي وإفراج كربتي، فقد مُلئتُ رعباً وفرقاً من سطوته، وفجاءة نقمته؛ وأمير المؤمنين – أقاله الله العثرات، وتجاوز له عن السيئات، وضاعف له الحسنات، وأعلى له الدرجات– أحق من صفح وعفا، وتعمد وأبقى، ولم يشمت بي عدواً مكباً ولا حسوداً مضباً، ولم يجرّعني غُصصاً، والذي وصف أمير المؤمنين من صنيعته إليّ، وتنويهه لي بما أسند إليّ من عمله، وأوطأني من رقاب رعيته، فصادق فيه، مجزي بالشكر عليه، والتوسل مني إليه بالولاية والتقرب له بالكفاية.

وقد عاين إسماعيل بن أبي المهاجر رسول أمير المؤمنين وحاملُ كتابه نزولي عند مَسَرَّةِ أنس بن مالك، وخضوعي لكتاب أمير المؤمنين، وإقلاقِهِ إياي، ودخولِهِ عليّ بالمصيبة، على ما سيعلمه أمير المؤمنين وينهيه إليه؛ فإن رأى أمير المؤمنين – طوقني الله شكره، وأعانني على تأدِيَةِ حقه، وبلغني إلى ما فيه موافقةُ مرضاته، ومد له في أجله– أمَرَ لي بكتابٍ من رضاه وسلامة صدره، يؤمّنني به من سفك دمي، ويرد ما شَرَّدَ من نومي، ويطمئنَ به قلبي، فعل؛ فقد ورد عليَّ أمر جليل خطبُه، عظيم أمْـرُه، شديدٌ عليّ كَرْبُه، أسأل الله أن لا يُسخِط أمير المؤمنين عليّ، وأن يبتليه في حزمه وعزمه، وسياسته وفراسته، ومواليه وحشمه، وعماله وصنائعه، ما يحمَد به حسنَ رأيه، وبُعد همته، إنه ولي أمير المؤمنين والذابُّ عن سلطانه، والصانع له في أمره، والسلام."

[76] *Al-'Iqd*, vol., 5, p. 32.

SECTION 5

DISCUSSION OF YAZĪD IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK'S ALLEGED DESIRE TO EXECUTE AL-ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ BECAUSE OF HIS PIETISTICAL OPPOSITION

Goldziher says,

> "In return they [pious people] were hated and despised by the ruling circles. It is sufficient to consider the way in which al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf deals with Anas b. Mālik ... The caliph Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik contemptuously calls the pious Ḥasan al-Baṣrī a *shaykh jāhil*, a doddering old man whom he would like to kill because his pietistical opposition is repellent and inconvenient to him [citing: *Fragm. hist. arab.*, p. 66, 15]."[77]

Regarding Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik's desire to execute al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī because of his pietistical opposition, we will present the text upon which Goldziher depends:

"وكتب يزيد إلى زياد بن المهلب وهو بعمان وأمرهُ أن يعرض الناس [ربما كان الصواب: أنْ يَفْرِضَ للناس]، فَفَرَضَ لثلاثةِ الآفِ رجلٍ من أهلِ عمان واستعملَ عليهم المشْمَاس بن عُمَرَ الأَزْدِيَّ، فقدموا على يزيد. وقال يزيد –وذكر الحسن البصري–: 'واللهِ ما أَدْرِي ما استبقَايَ اِيَّاهُ

[77] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 41.

وإنّهُ شيخٌ جاهلٌ، لَهَمَمْتُ أَنْ أَضْرِبَهُ حتى يمـــوت.' فقـــال المفضَّـــل:'أَصْلَـــحَ اللهُ الأمـــير إنّ لـــه قَدَمـــاً وفَضْلاً وقدراً بالِمصْر.' فَكَفَّهُ ذلك عَنْـــهُ.''

"Yazīd wrote to Ziyād b. al-Muhallab while he was in Oman and ordered him to make a levy for people, so he made a levy for three thousand men from the people of Oman and apointed al-Mishmās b. 'Umar al-Azdī as their leader, then they all turned up before Yazīd. Yazīd said, on mentioning al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, "I wonder why I spared his life. He is an ignorant old man and I was intending to beat him to death." Then al-Mufaḍḍal said to him, "May Allāh make you a better ruler. He has a value, merit and respect in the region." This deterred him from beating him [al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī]."[78]

The name 'Yazīd' is mentioned three times in the previous text, but with reference to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (d. 102/720)[79] and not Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, as Goldziher understood to be the case, for the following reasons:

On page 37 the author of ***Fragm. Hist. Arab.*** [The original title of this book is ***al-'Uyūn wa al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq***] begins to discuss the rule (*khilāfah*) of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. While doing so, he shifts to relating the story of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. On page 60, he once again resumes his account of the rule of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, while promising the reader that he will continue the story of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab when he discusses the rule of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.[80] Then on page 64 he begins

---

[78] *'Uyūn*, p. 66.
[79] See Ibid., p. 74; *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, 506.
[80] The author said:

his account of the rule of Yazīd b. ʻAbd al-Malik. After less then seventeen lines he resumes the story of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, drawing the reader's attention to the fact by saying, "... here we come back to the story of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab."[81] Then he relates the stories that feature Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, including the previous text cited by Goldziher. From all this, it becomes clear that the name 'Yazīd' in the cited text refers to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and not Yazīd b. ʻAbd al-Malik. What further confirms this understanding is our knowledge of the individuals Ziyād b. al-Muhallab and al-Mufaḍḍal who are also mentioned in the text: Both of them were Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's brothers,[82] and Yazīd had appointed Ziyād as the governor of Oman.[83]

The story of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and the reason behind his intention to beat al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to death:

"وسيأتي بقيّة حديث يزيد بن المهلب مع ذكرنا خلافة يزيد بن عبد الملك. ثم رجع بنا القول إلى إتمام حديث عمر بن عبد العزيز رحمه الله."

[81] *ʻUyūn*, p. 65:

"عاد بنا القول إلى إتمام حديث يزيد بن المهلب: ..."

[82] See Ibid., p. 53. Also *Bidāyah*, vol., 9, p. 45:

توفي المهلب [بن أبي صفرة] غازياً بمرو الروذ و عمره ستة و سبعون سنة رحمه اللّه و كان له عشرة من الولد و هـــم : يزيـــد، وزياد، والمفضل، و مدرك، و حبيب، و المغيرة، و قبيصة، و محمد، و هند، و فاطمة.

[83] *ʻUyūn*, p. 59.

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was appointed as ruler of 'Iraq and Khurāsān by Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.[84] When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz became the caliph, he removed him from office, imprisoned him and replaced him with 'Adī b. Arṭa'ah.[85] Following the death of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab held the opinion that he was more entitled to the caliphate than Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.[86] Therefore, 'Adī b. Arṭa'ah sent al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī among a group of people to the family of al-Muhallab in order to convince them to renew their allegiance to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik in return for an amnesty. 'Abd al-Malik and al-Mufaḍḍal, Yazīd's two brothers, accepted the offer while the others declined.[87] Then a number of battles took place between 'Adī and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab until the latter took control of Baṣrah. The people then pledged allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. He appointed Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab as the governor of Persia, Hilāl b. 'Iyāḍ as the governor of Ahwāz, Ziyād b. al-Muhallab as the governor of Oman, al-Minhāl b. 'Uyaynah as the governor of Barkāwān Island, Ash'ath b. 'Abd Allāh as the governor of Bahrain, Mudrik b. al-Muhallab as the governor of Khurāsān and Wadā' b. Ḥumayd as the governor of Qandāyabil.[88]

[84] *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, 503.
[85] Ibid., p. 504.
[86] *'Uyūn*, p. 65.
[87] Ibid., pp. 53-4.
[88] Ibid., pp. 54-60.

On *'Īd al-fiṭr* Yazīd b. al-Muhallab went out to the place of the prayer. He renounced Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, abused the family of Marwān and asked the people to make amends and reconciliation with the Banū Hāshim.[89] On hearing of this, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik directed a huge army of eighty thousand men from Syria and the Peninsula towards him, under the leadership of his brother Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.[90] When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab got news of this, he ordered Marwān b. al-Muhallab to mobilize the people for war. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's role was to discourage people from fighting alongside Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and to warn them against dissension and sedition.[91] Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī says, "... He [Yazīd b. al-Muhallab] alleges that he was inviting them [the people] to the Book of Allāh and the *Sunnah* of the Rightly Guided caliphs. The *Sunnah* of the Rightly Guided caliphs surely dictates that he should be shackled and sent back to the prison of 'Umar [b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.]"[92]

Here it becomes clear that the stance that was adopted by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was in favour the Umayyads. For this reason Yazīd b. al-Muhallab wished to beat him to death.

---

[89] Ibid., p. 65.
[90] Ibid., p. 68.
[91] Ibid., p. 69.
[92] Ibid., p. 59. See also *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, 506.

SECTION 6

DISCUSSION OF IBN AL-MUSAYYIB'S REFUSAL TO PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE

Goldziher says,

> "Pious people of Sa'īd's kind frowned at the state of affairs under such rule; they decried the tyrannical government, defied it by passive resistance and even showed their dissatisfaction openly, occasionally going so far as to refuse homage. In return they were hated and despised by the ruling circles."[93]

In the footnote he says,

> "In this context, too, we meet the same Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib, Ibn Qutayba, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 224, I]. [94]

Regarding Ibn al-Musayyib's refusal to pledge allegiance, Goldziher relies on the following text from Ibn Qutaybah's book:

"وكان جابر بن الأسود بالمدينة فدعاه إلى البيعة لابن الزبير، فأبى، فضربه ستين سوطاً. وضربه أيضاً هشام بن إسماعيل ستين سوطاً، وطاف به المدينة في تبان من شعر؛ وذلك أنه دعاه إلى البيعة للوليد وسليمان بالعهد فلم يفعل."

"Jābir b. al-Aswad was in al-Madīnah and he asked him [Ibn al-Musayyib] to pledge allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr. He refused and as a result he was beaten sixty lashes.

[93] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 41.
[94] Ibid., footnote no. 5.

He was also beaten sixty lashes and was taken around al-Madīnah in a wool garment by Hishām b. Ismā'īl as a result of his refusal to pledge allegiance to al-Walīd and Sulaymān."[95]

The previous account from Ibn Qutaybah was extracted from a very brief, one-page synopsis of the life of Ibn al-Musayyib, from his birth to his death. Ibn Qutaybah thus mentioned Ibn al-Musayyib's story and his refusal to pledge allegiance very briefly, and thus depicted Ibn al-Musayyib as if he was a mortal enemy and refused to pledge allegiance altogether. However, the story is mentioned in greater detail by a number of other sources[96] that reveal the following:

1. Ibn al-Musayyib did not refuse to pledge allegiance altogether. However, he refused to pledge two allegiances at the same time,[97] the first to 'Abd al-Malik and the second to his two sons; al-Walīd and Sulaymān: He did not see any reason why he should pledge a second allegiance when he had already pledged the first to 'Abd al-Malik.
2. Ibn al-Musayyib gave the reason for his refusal; the Prophet prohibited the pledging of two allegiances.[98]
3. After he had beaten and imprisoned Ibn al-Musayyib, Hishām wrote to 'Abd al-Malik. He related to him Ibn al-Musayyib's attitude and the punishment he had incurred as a result. 'Abd al-Malik wrote back to him in censure, stating, "By

---

[95] *Ma'ārif*, p. 249.
[96] For instance: Ibn Sa'd; *Ḥilyat*; Ibn 'Asākir; *Nubalā'*.
[97] *Ḥilyat*, vol. 2, p. 170: Ibn al-Musayyib said, "I will not pledge allegiance to two (rulers) as long as the day and night alternate." See also p. 171; *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, p. 231.
[98] *Ḥilyat*, vol. 2, p. 172.

Allāh, Sa'īd was more in need of your kindness than a beating. We know very well that Sa'īd was not a man of dissension or dispute."[99] Thus, Ibn al-Musayyib did not curse 'Abd al-Malik while in prison, but rather he used to say, "O Allāh, avenge me against Hishām."[100] This was because Ibn al-Musayyib was aware that 'Abd al-Malik respected him, and also that his beating and imprisonment were not in any way authorized by 'Abd al-Malik.[101]

Hishām regretted what he had done to Sa'īd and subsequently released him from prison,[102] and it is reported, by al-Ya'qūbī that "Hishām became infamous for what he did."[103]

It seems that the basis for Ibn al-Musayyb's refusal, besides what has been mentioned above, was his objection to the institution of an inheritable *khilāfah*, and thus that the people would not be able to choose their caliph after the death of 'Abd al-Malik. The whole issue consisted of nothing more than his expressing disagreement with the situation, and did not reach the level of what could be called enmity.

In addition to the above, we note from the original text cited that Ibn al-Musayyib also refused to pay homage to Ibn al-Zubayr. If Ibn al-Musayyib had a

---

[99] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 5, p. 126; *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, pp. 229-30.
[100] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 5, p. 126; *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, p. 230.
[101] Some sources mention that it was 'Abd al-Malik who whipped Sa'īd. However, al-Wāqidī clarified this ambiguity. He stated that what was meant was that he was whipped during the rule of 'Abd al-Malik.
[102] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 5, p. 127.

personal vendetta against the Umayyads, then he would have pledged allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr because of his opposition to the Umayyads. However, it seems that Ibn al-Musayyib's refusal was based on fundamental principles, rather than partisan politics, as will be discussed again later.

[103] Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 280.

SECTION 7

DISCUSSION OF SA'ĪD IBN AL-MUSAYYIB'S STATEMENT ABOUT MU'ĀWIYAH IBN ABĪ SUFYĀN AND AL-ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ'S OPINION REGARDING THE ISSUE OF *KHILĀFAH*

Goldziher says,

> "The founder of the dynasty was the first who called himself king, and the pious Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib made this bitter comment: 'May Allah repay Mu'āwiyah, as he was the first who converted this condition (dominion over true believers) into *mulk* [citing: al-Ya'qūbī, II, p. 276, 13 *awwal man a'āda hādhā'l-amra mulkan*].'
>
> Pious people of Sa'īd's kind frowned at the state of affairs under such rule; they decried the tyrannical government, defied it by passive resistance and even showed their dissatisfaction openly, occasionally going so far as to refuse homage. In return they were hated and despised by the ruling circles. It is sufficient to consider the way in which al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf deals with Anas b. Mālik... The caliph Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik contemptuously calls the pious Ḥasan al-Baṣrī a *shaykh jāhil*, a doddering old man whom he would like to kill because his pietistical opposition is repellent and inconvenient to him. This Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] had said that the governor Mughīra had made a fateful step, in so far as he inspired the hereditary caliphate of the Umayyads, by arranging that homage should be paid during Mu'āwiyah's life to his son Yazīd; the pious preferred the electoral caliphate (*shūrā*) of patriarchal times [citing: al-Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 79, bottom]. The aims of the pious were divorced from reality."[104]

He then presents his conclusion as follows:

> "Without paying any attention to reality these men founded the sunna of the Prophet upon which the law and jurisprudence of the Islamic state was to be based. The Companions and 'followers' living amongst them

[104] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 41.

gave them the sacred material which formed the contents and basis of their endeavour."[105]

As can be seen from the above allegation, Goldziher does not supply even a single invented *ḥadīth* to illustrate his allegation, which is surprising due to his mentioning by name the individuals he alleges to have been involved, including Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib, Anas b. Mālik and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. If this accusation is true, then Ibn al-Musayyib is a prime candidate among those pious men who are accused of inventing *Ḥadīth*. Goldziher does not present us with those *ḥadīths* which were invented, even if attributable to just a single scholar. Thus he fails to grant us the chance to study and examine them in the way that he gives us the opportunity to do when he accuses Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, Rajā' b. Ḥaywah and the other scholars who were connected in some way with the Umayyads (as will be discussed in Chapter 5).

Ibn al-Musayyib stated that Mu'āwiyah was the first to turn authentic *khilāfah* into a monarchy.[106] Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī stated that, had it not been for al-Mughīrah's arrangement for Yazīd to be the ruler after Mu'āwiyah, *khilāfah* could have continued until the Day of Judgement.[107] As far as the above two statements are

---

105 Ibid., p. 42.
106 Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 232:
كان سعيد بن المسيب يقول: ''فعل الله بمعاوية وفعل، فإنه أول من أعاد هذا الأمر ملكاً.''
107 Ṣuyūṭī *TK*, p. 229:
قال الحسن البصري: ''أفسد أمر الناس اثنان: عمرو بن العاص ... والمغيرة بن شُعبة، فإنه كان عامل معاوية على الكوفة فكتب إليه معاوية: 'إذا قرأت كتابي فاقبل معزولاً.'، فأبطأ عنه، فلما ورد عليه قال: 'ما أبطأ بك؟' قال: 'أمرٌ كنتُ أُوَطِّئُهُ وأُهَيِّئُهُ.' قال: 'وما هو؟' قال: 'البيعة ليزيد من بعدك.' قال: 'أوقد فعلت؟' قال: 'نعم.' قال: 'ارجع إلى عملك'، فلما خرج قال له

concerned, it is apparent that there is no evidence whatsoever in them to suggest the invention of *Ḥadīth*. Furthermore, they do not in any way indicate that these two scholars contributed to the invention of *Ḥadīth* against the Umayyads.

There is no doubt that there was discontent among scholars like Ibn al-Musayyib and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as a result of the Umayyads' contravention of various legal stipulations, particularly in connection with the important issue of *khilāfah*. They held the opinion that that the inheritance of *khilāfah* contradicts the practice that was dominant during the time of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. However, from the existence of this discontent it does not by any means follow that they were forced to invent *Ḥadīth*, either directly or indirectly, for religious motives, or to the disparagement of the Umayyads. The matter was not as Goldziher claims in his statement: "Without paying any attention to reality these men founded the sunna of the Prophet upon which the law and jurisprudence of the Islamic state was to be based." It is well known that Ibn al-Musayyib and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī were not the only scholars of the time who took up the task of collecting, writing down and commenting on *Ḥadīth*. Other scholars who did so include Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utbah, Sālim the *mawlā* of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Nāfi' the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar, Sulaymān b. Yasār, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, al-Zuhrī, 'Aṭā', al-Sha'bī, 'Alqamah and other traditionists who preserved the *ḥadīths*, and were not accused of

أصحابُهُ: 'ما وراءك؟' قال: 'وَضَعْتُ رِجْلَ معاوية في غَرْزِ غَيٍّ لا يزال فيه إلى يوم القيامة.' قال الحسن [البصري]: فمن أجل ذلك بايع هؤلاء لأبنائهم، ولولا ذلك لكانت شورى إلى يوم القيامة.'''

fabrication. Besides, none of these scholars were known to be enemies of the Umayyads, except for Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib on account of his refusal to pledge allegiance to the two sons of 'Abd al-Malik as discussed above. His refusal, however, was an isolated incident, and we are also aware of 'Abd al-Malik's attitude towards it. In fact, Sa'īd's refusal was motivated, in addition to the reason that he is cited as having given above, by his desire that the issue of *khilāfah* should be settled through a consultative process (*shūrā*) among the people. Had he dedicated himself to opposing the Umayyads, he could have pledged allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr. However, he refused to do so for the same reason. His stance is made clear by his reply when Jābir b. al-Aswad asked him to pledge allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr: "No, not until all people agree (*lā ḥattā yajtami'a al-nās*)."[108] When he was asked who was dearer to him, Ibn al-Zubayr or the people of Shām, he answered, "I make no preference."[109] Whenever he was asked about the Umayyads he used to say, "I say about them what Allāh has taught me to say, 'Our Lord! Forgive us, and our brethren who have preceded us in Faith, and put not in our hearts any hatred against those who believe. Our Lord! You are indeed Full of Kindness, Most Merciful' (Q. 59:10)."[110]

This evidence confirms that the main issue between Sa'īd and the Umayyads did not go beyond his discontent over the issue of an inherited

[108] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 5, pp. 122-3. *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, p. 229:
الواقدي: حدثنا عبد الله بن جعفر، وغيره من أصحابنا، قالوا: "استعمل ابن الزبير جابر بن الأسود بن عوف الزّهري على المدينة، فدعا الناس إلى البيعة [لابن الزبير]، فقال سعيد بن المسيب: 'لا، حتى يجتمع الناس ...'"

[109] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 5, p. 135.
[110] Ibid., p. 130.

khilāfah. Despite this, he was highly respected even by the Umayyads themselves and was known to be one of 'Abd al-Malik's friends,[111] who would inquire after him and his affairs.[112] Furthermore, despite Sa'īd's firmness and his refusal to answer the caliphs' summons, largely out of self-respect, 'Abd al-Malik used to hold him in regard and pray for him: *raḥima Allāh abā Mūḥammad.*[113] "This is the remainder of the people who know about the *dīn*", al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik certified to 'Umar II after meeting with Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib.[114] Indeed, Sa'īd was one of the scholars whom 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz used to ask for an opinion before he passed a judgement on any case.[115]

We find that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was in a similar position. In other words, the problem between him and the Umayyads did not go beyond his discontent about their contravention of various legal stipulations, particularly with regards to the issue of the inheritance of the *khilāfah.* Had he been working against the Umayyads, either directly or indirectly, he might have found it politically advantageous to pledge allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. This is because, as mentioned above, Yazīd had revoked his allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik, abused and vilified the Umayyads, and asked

[111] Ibid., p. 130.
[112] Ibid., p. 123.
[113] Ibid., pp. 129-30.
[114] Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 285; Ṭabarī, vol. 7, p. 367; *'Uyūn*, vol. 3, p. 7; *Kāmil*, vol. 4, p. 438; *Nujūm*, vol. 1, p. 223.
[115] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 5, p. 122.

the people to seek the consent of the Banū Hāshim.[116] In addition to this, historical narrations show that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was in fact pro-Umayyad. For instance, 'Adī b. Arṭa'ah sent him as an intermediary between the Umayyad government and the family of al-Muhallab in order to convince them to re-pledge their allegiance to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.[117] Had there been anything between him and the Umayyads that amounted to enmity and the invention of *Ḥadīth*, he would not have accepted a mediating role with the aim of expanding their rule. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī had indeed put his life in danger as a result of his negative attitude towards Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. He used to discourage and dissuade people from following Yazīd[118] to the extent that the latter contemplated beating him to death.[119]

From the above, we conclude that these two scholars were not involved, either directly or indirectly, in a conflict of *ḥadīths* against the Umayyads that involved the invention of *ḥadīths*. Also, we can not consider Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib's statement about Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and his refusal to pledge allegiance to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and his brother Sulaymān while their father 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was still alive, or indeed al-Ḥasan's opinion on the issue of *khilāfah*, to be evidence of bitter enmity between the Umayyads and the pious men. The whole issue centres around their discontent about the issue of nepotism in the succession of the

[116] *'Uyūn*, vol. 3, p. 65.
[117] Ibid., pp. 53-4.
[118] Ibid., p. 69; also see above, p. 225.
[119] *'Uyūn*, vol. 3, p. 66.

khilāfah, and they clearly and courageously expressed their views on this matter, as we have seen, while accepting the facts of the existing situation, which was manifest in their dislike of stirring up problems that might lead to dissension and civil strife.

CHAPTER 5
THE UMAYYADS AND FABRICATION

An analysis of the evidence Goldziher cites in support of his claim that the Umayyads fabricated *Ḥadīth*

Section 1: Goldziher's evidence regarding the Umayyads' fabrication.

Section 2: Discussion of the first factor: Official influence on the invention, dissemination and suppression of *ḥadīths*.

Section 3: Discussion of the second factor: The endeavours of the Umayyad governors to find pious and trustworthy authorities to cover such falsifications:

First: A discussion of his evidence in support of his accusation of Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī:

- **A.** Discussion of his first evidence.
- **B.** Discussion of his second evidence.
- **C.** Discussion of his third evidence.

Second: A discussion of his evidence in support of his accusation of Rajā' b. Ḥaywah.

Section 4: Discussion of a *ḥadīth* invented by the Umayyads, in the interests of the privileges claimed by them, which indicated that even 'Alī had delivered the *khuṭbah* seated.

Section 5: Discussion of a *ḥadīth* invented by the Umayyads, in the interest of the privileges claimed by them, which indicated that the Prophet used to sit in his *khuṭbah*.

SECTION 1

GOLDZIHER'S EVIDENCE REGARDING THE UMAYYADS' FABRICATION

This section will be devoted to the presentation of his evidence regarding the role of the Umayyads in the fabrication of *Ḥadīth.*

Goldziher assumes that the Umayyad government, from its early days, played a significant role in the invention and dissemination of fabricated *Ḥadīth* in order to serve its own purposes and to consolidate its advantage against the opposition parties. He said,

> "This must not lead us to believe that during this period theologians in opposition were alone at work on the tradition. The ruling power itself was not idle. If it wished an opinion to be generally recognized and the opposition of pious circles silenced, it too had to know how to discover a *ḥadīth* to suit its purpose. They had to do what their opponents did: invent, or have invented, *ḥadīths* in their turn. And that is in effect what they did. A number of facts are available to show that the impetus to these inventions and falsifications often came from the highest government circles; and if it is realized that even among the most pious of theologians there were willing tools to further their invention, it is not surprising that, among the hotly debated controversial issues of Islam, whether political or doctrinal, there is none in which the champions of

the various views are unable to cite a number of traditions, all equipped with imposing *isnāds*."[1]

The above role according to his own point of view was clear from the following factors:

First: Official influence on the invention, dissemination and suppression of *ḥadīths*.

As we have already seen, Goldziher says,

> "Official influence on the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions started very early. An instruction given to his obedient governor al-Mughīrah by Mu'āwiyah I is in the spirit of the Umayyads: 'Do not tire of abusing and insulting 'Alī and calling for God's mercifulness for 'Uthmān, defaming the companions of 'Alī, removing them and omitting to listen to them (i.e. to what they tell and propagate as *ḥadīths*); praising, in contrast, the clan of 'Uthmān, drawing them near to you and listening to them.' This is an official encouragement to foster the rise and spread of *ḥadīths* directed against 'Alī and to hold back and suppress *ḥadīths* favouring 'Alī."[2]

Second: The endeavours of the Umayyad governors to find pious and trustworthy authorities to cover such falsifications.

Goldziher says,

> "The Umayyads and their political followers had no scruples in promoting tendentious lies in a sacred religious form, and they were only

[1] Gldziher, vol. 2, pp. 43-4.
[2] Ibid.,vol. 2, p. 44.

concerned to find pious authorities who would be prepared to cover such falsifications with their undoubted authority."[3]

Elsewhere he refers to,

"How the Umayyads made it their business to put into circulation *ḥadīths* which seemed to them desirable, and how people of the type of the pious al-Zuhrī acquiesced in being their tools, though they certainly were not guided by selfish motives but merely by reasons of state expediency, is to be seen from evidence preserved by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī which deserves to be considered in this context."[4]

He also says,

"The official invention of *ḥadīths* under the Umayyads would be used even for such trivial purposes. Pious sayings were meant to break down the resistance of the pious and to disarm them."[5]

Goldziher gives two examples of those pious scholars who he alleges were used by the Umayyads for the invention of *Ḥadīth*. These two scholars are Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī and Rajā' b. Ḥaywah.

Evidence cited by Goldziher in support of his accusation of al-Zuhrī:

A. The fabrication by al-Zuhrī of the *ḥadīth*: "There are three mosques to which people may make pilgrimages; those in Makkah, Madīnah and Jerusalem."

Goldziher says,

"When the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Mālik wished to stop the Pilgrimage to Mecca because he was worried lest his rival 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr

[3] Ibid., p. 44.
[4] Ibid., p. 46.
[5] Ibid., p. 49.

should force the Syrians journeying to the holy places in Ḥijāz to pay him homage, he had recourse to the expedient of the doctrine of the vicarious *ḥajj* to the Qubbat al-ṣakhra in Jerusalem. He decreed that the obligatory circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) could take place at the sacred place in Jerusalem with the same validity as that around the Ka'ba ordained in Islamic Law. The pious theologian al-Zuhrī was given the task of justifying this politically motivated reform of religious life by making up and spreading a saying traced back to the Prophet, according to which there are three mosques to which people may make pilgrimages: those in Mecca, Madina and Jerusalem."[6]

B. The statement made by al-Zuhrī to Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd: "Who else could have told you the *ḥadīths*."

Goldziher says,

"How the Umayyads made it their business to put into circulation *ḥadīths* which seemed to them desirable, and how people of the type of the pious al-Zuhrī acquiesced in being their tools, though they certainly were not guided by selfish motives but merely by reasons of state expediency, is to be seen from evidence preserved by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī which deserves to be considered in this context. Here we find an account which is handed down by various ways from 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211), a disciple of Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 153), in the name of the latter; Ma'mar himself belonged to the group of the disciples of al-Zuhrī. This acccount tells us that the Umayyad Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, it is not stated whether he was the subsequent ruler of this name (d. 126), came to al-Zuhrī with a note-book he had written, and asked his permission to spread the sayings contained in it as *ḥadīths* communicated by al-Zuhrī. The latter gave his permission easily: 'Who else could have told you the *ḥadīths*?' Thus the

[6] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 44-5.

Umayyad was enabled to circulate the contents of his manuscript as texts taught him by al-Zuhrī. This account fully confirms the willingness of al-Zuhrī (for which we have quoted an example above) to promote the interests of the dynasty by religious means. His piety probably caused his conscience to be troubled occasionally but he could not for ever resist the pressure of the governing circles."[7]

C. The statement made by al-Zuhrī, "These emirs forced people to write *ḥadīths*."

Goldziher said,

> "The Ma'mar just mentioned preserved a characteristic saying by al-Zuhrī: 'These emirs forced people to write *ḥadīths* (*akrahanā 'alayhi hā'ulā'i'l-umarā'*).' This account can only be understood on the assumption of al-Zuhrī's willingness to lend his name, which was in general esteemed by the Muslim community, to the government's wishes."[8]

His evidence in support of his accusation of Rajā' b. Ḥaywah:

The substance of Goldziher's claim is that Rajā' b. Ḥaywah fabricated a *ḥadīth* in which he revealed that 'Uthmān used to stand during the first *khuṭbah* but delivered the second seated. Goldziher believes that the Umayyads endeavoured to achieve an effect at least outwardly corresponding to their position as rulers. Therefore, the first Umayyads introduced various alterations in the ceremony of the *khuṭbah* and its staging in such a way as to divest it of its ancient democratic

[7] Ibid., pp. 46-7.
[8] Ibid., p. 47.

character.[9] However, Goldziher does not mention in his evidence any *ḥadīth* invented by the Umayyads in support of their practices regarding the various alterations in the ceremony of the *khuṭbah*, with the exception of the matter of the justification for giving the *khuṭbah* seated. He says,

> "The official invention of ḥadīths under the Umayyads would be used even for such trivial purposes. Pious sayings were meant to break down the resistance of the pious and to disarm them. Here is an example of such a case. As is well known on Fridays the Imam makes two speeches (*khutba*) to the assembled community in the weekly general gathering. In early times this rite was carried out in the capital by the caliph himself. It is likely that the humble rulers of the patriarchal epoch fulfilled this function standing on a primitive platform (*minbar*); and it is hardly conceivable that of old it was so arranged that the speaker should remain seated during this liturgical speech before the community. but standing in front of the community was apparently not to the taste of proud Umayyad princes. They did, however, value highly ascending the *minbar* as head of the people, and considered this privilege as an important part of their dignity as rulers, as is evident from the panegyrics on the rulers of this dynasty. Mu'āwiya is praised as *'rakūbu'l-manābiri waththābuhā'* after his death. The same image, in which the pulpit figures as mount and the ascending prince as bold rider, appears in a poem which Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥafṣa addressed to al-Walīd after the death of his father 'Abd al-Malik:
>
> The pulpits mourned on the day that he ('Abd al-Malik) died; the pulpits mourned the death of their rider;
>
> When al-Walīd ascended them as caliph, they said: 'this is his son, in his image,' and they were quietened;
>
> If after him (the father) another had knocked at the pulpits, they would have reared and thrown him.

---

[9] Ibid., p. 50.

But their aristocratic arrogance – if the mind of those proud Qurayshites is pictured – seems to have revolted at the idea of standing like hired preachers before their subjects. It was also aristocratic arrogance, strengthened by the fear of assassination, which caused the first Mu'āwiya to have boxes (*maqṣūra*) constructed beside the great mosques for himself and his court, contrary to custom, in order to avoid mingling with the people. This Umayyad institution was abolished under the first 'Abbāsids, according to some as early as under al-Mahdī, according to others only under al-Ma'mūn. The manner of the *khūṭba* was altered for the same considerations. The highest representative of power must be distinguished from paid *khaṭībs* and the dignity of the regent was to be displayed before the people even on this solemn occasion. The *khuṭba* itself gave them considerable uneasiness, though they did not wish to renounce the opportunity to parade at the head of the people. 'Abd al-Malik is said to have given the reason for his early grey hair: 'How can I avoid going grey if I have to expose my esprit to the people once a week.' Thus they endeavoured to achieve an effect at least outwardly corresponding to their position as rulers. The ftrst Umayyads therefore introduced various alteration in the ceremony of the *khuṭba* and its staging in such a way as to divest it of its ancient democratic character. Mu'āwiya had some steps added to the *minbar* so that the representative of the ruling power should occupy, during the act which was solemnly symbolizing it, a more elevated place than was customary in democratic times. A Fine *minbars*, made even from metal, were constructed everywhere in order to give the caliph and his lieutenants more weight by a sumptuously set "stage" for the *khuṭba*. In former times things were kept more simle, and 'Umar I destroyed a *minbar* which his govenor 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had built in Fusṭaṭ. (Perhaps this is a polemical invention meant to protest against tendencies of a later time.) Originally the *khuṭba* was given after the general prayer. During the Umayyad period the caliphs began to give the *khuṭba* of the *'Īd* before the *ṣalāt* on

the pretext that the people might disperse before hearing what they had to say to the congregation. It could have been considered as degrading for the government if the speech made from the pulpit by the ruler or his lieutenant was not as equally well attended as the liturgy itself. For prestige reasons the caliph was now to give one *khuṭba* seated. That this meant a change of the rite of the *khuṭba* is often confirmed by the historians. But this seems to have aroused the disapproval of pious people faithful to the sunna and an official theologian had to be found in order to instruct them: Rajā' b. Ḥaywah (d. II2), otherwise praised as a pious authority – who was considered a sort of adviser in matters of conscience in the court of several Umayyad rulers, asserted that one of the old caliphs, 'Uthmān, upon whom the legitimacy of the dynasty was, as is well known, founded, also used to stand during the first *khuṭba* but delivered the second seated.[10]

***Ḥadīths* invented by the Umayyads in the interests of the privileges claimed by them.**

"These circles said even of 'Alī that he delivered the *khuṭba* seated. It is, however, interesting to observe that the significance of this account was already obliterated by the third century, when the victory of the sunna had rendered the stoutly independent attitude of the old Arab rulers no longer comprehensible, and that even al-Jāḥiẓ is only capable of giving a very naive explanation."[11]

He further states,

"How far reaching were the falsifications inspired by the Umayyads in the interests of the privileges claimed by them is evident from the fact that they not only cited 'Uthmān, but even the Prophet as their examples,

[10] Ibid., pp. 49-51.

and that opponents of these falsifications make Jābir b. Samura, a Companion of the Prophet, conclude his description with the words: 'He who tells you that the Prophet delivered the *khuṭba* sitting is a liar."[12]

[11] Ibid., p. 51.
[12] Ibid., pp. 51-2.

SECTION 2

DISCUSSION OF THE FIRST FACTOR: OFFICIAL INFLUENCE ON THE INVENTION, DISSEMINATION AND SUPPRESSION OF *ḤADĪTHS*

Goldziher says,

> "Official influence on the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions started very early. An instruction given to his obedient governor al-Mughīrah by Mu'āwiyah I is in the spirit of the Umayyads: 'Do not tire of abusing and insulting 'Alī and calling for God's mercifulness for 'Uthmān, defaming the companions of 'Alī, removing them and omitting to listen to them (i.e. to what they tell and propagate as *ḥadīths*); praising, in contrast, the clan of 'Uthmān, drawing them near to you and listening to them.' [citing: al-Ṭabarī, II, p. 112]. This is an official encouragement to foster the rise and spread of *ḥadīths* directed against 'Alī and to hold back and suppress *ḥadīths* favouring 'Alī."[13]

This factor has been previously discussed in Section 2 of Chapter 3 under the title: 'The alleged fabrication of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah'. The above allegation has been assessed by examination of the following:

A. The use of the text itself as a criterion;

B. the reaction of various observers to the disparagement of 'Alī and his companions;

C. the accounts of this issue made by various historians;

D. Mu'āwiyah's stance regarding 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib;

Finally, we conclude that the text cited by Goldziher in no way substantiates his opinion that official involvement in the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions began early.

[13] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 44.

SECTION 3

DISCUSSION OF THE SECOND FACTOR: THE ENDEAVOURS OF THE UMAYYAD GOVERNORS TO FIND PIOUS AND TRUSTWORTHY AUTHORITIES TO COVER SUCH FALSIFICATIONS

First: A discussion of his evidence in support of his accusation of Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī:

A. Discussion of his first piece of evidence:

Goldziher says,

> "When the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik wished to stop the Pilgrimage to Mecca because he was worried lest his rival 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr should force the Syrians journeying to the holy places in Ḥijāz to pay him homage, he had recourse to the expedient of the doctrine of the vicarious *ḥajj* to the Qubbat al-ṣakhra in Jerusalem. He decreed that the obligatory circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) could take place at the sacred place in Jerusalem with the same validity as that around the Ka'ba ordained in Islamic Law. The pious theologian al-Zuhrī was given the task of justifying this politically motivated reform of religious life by making up and spreading a saying traced back to the Prophet, according to which there are three mosques to which people may make pilgrimages: those in Mecca, Madina and Jerusalem [citing: al-Ya'qūbī, II, p. 311.]" [14]

We shall discuss this evidence in the light of the following points:

(i) To what extent is al-Ya'qūbī's account credible?

[14] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 44-5. Hitti follows the same line and accepts the view that the aim was to divert the pilgrimage from Makkah to Jerusalem. He said, "In 691 'Abd-al-Malik erected in Jerusalem the magnificent Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah), wrongly styled by Europeans "the Mosque of

(ii) When did al-Zuhrī invent this *ḥadīth*?

(iii) Was the building of Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah considered sufficient reason for changing the site where the *ḥajj* is performed?

(iv) What would the likely attitude of the Umayyads' opponents have been with regard to the changing of the designated location for *ḥajj*?

(v) What was Ibn al-Musayyib's attitude towards al-Zuhrī?

(vi) What does the text of the *ḥadīth* tell us in real terms?

(vii) Is al-Zuhrī the only traditionist to have reported this *ḥadīth* and traced it back to the Prophet?

However, before proceeding, it is useful to present the original Arabic text upon which Goldziher depends in the original and in translation:

قال اليعقوبي: ''ومنع عبد الملك أهل الشام من الحج، وذلك أن ابن الزبير كان يأخذهم، إذا حجوا، بالبيعة، فلما رأى عبد الملك ذلك منعهم من الخروج إلى مكة، فضجّ الناس، وقالوا: 'تمنعنا من حجّ بيت الله الحرام، وهو فرض من الله علينا!' فقال لهم: 'هذا ابن شهاب الزهري يحدّثكم أن رسول الله قال: 'لا تشد الرحال إلا إلى ثلاثة مساجد: المسجد الحرام، ومسجدي، ومسجد بيت المقدس'، وهو يقوم لكم مقام المسجد الحرام، وهذه الصخرة التي يُروى أن رسول الله وضع قدمه عليها لما صعد إلى السماء، تقوم لكم مقام الكعبة.' فبنى على الصخرة قبّة، وعلّق عليها ستور الديباج، وأقام لها سدنة، وأخَذَ الناسَ بأن يطوفوا حولها كما يطوفون حول الكعبة، وأقام بذلك بني أمية''

'Umar", in order to divert thither the pilgrimage from Makkah which was held by his rival ibn-al-Zubayr." See Hitti, p.220.

Al-Ya'qūbī said, "'Abd al-Malik prevented the people of Syria from performing *ḥajj*. This is because Ibn al-Zubayr used to ask them whenever they performed *ḥajj* to pledge allegiance to him. When 'Abd al-Malik saw this, he prevented them from travelling to Makkah. The people then protested loudly and said, 'Do you prevent us from performing *ḥajj* to the sacred House of Allāh while it is an obligation from Allāh!' He said to them, 'Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī narrates to you that the Apostle of Allāh said, 'Journeys should not be made [to visit any mosque] except towards three mosques; al-Masjid al-Ḥarām [the sacred Mosque in Makkah]; my Mosque [in Madīnah]; and the Mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis [in Jerusalem].' ['Abd al-Malik continued:] So, this Mosque [in Jerusalem] represents al-Masjid al-Ḥarām for you and this Rock, which it was narrated that the Prophet set his foot upon it when he ascended into heaven, represents the Ka'bah for you.' [Al-Ya'qūbī continues:] 'Abd al-Malik then built a dome on the Rock, covered it with silk brocades, appointed custodians for it and ordered the people to go round it as they go round the Ka'bah. He ['Abd al-Malik] established this practice during the Umayyad rule.[15]

(i) To what extent is al-Ya'qūbī's account credible?

Al-Ya'qūbī's account, which Goldziher relies upon in accusing 'Abd al-Malik of changing the site of the *ḥajj* to Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah and decreeing that the obligatory circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) could take place round al-Ṣakhrah instead of the Ka'bah is the only recorded account of this that we can find. Therefore, one should treat this account with caution and not accept it before subjecting it to study, especially when we know that nothing was mentioned about this issue in the history books compiled by Ibn Sa'd,

[15] Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 261.

al-Ṭabarī, Ibn ʻAsākir, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Khaldūn, al-Dhahabī and others. The building of Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah to resemble the Kaʻbah so that people could make *ḥajj* to it and indeed perform *ṭawāf* around it, would no doubt rank as a major historic event and certainly would have been considered most significant. It is therefore inconceivable that these historians would pass over such an event without mention whereas many events of far lesser significance were duly recorded.

Further, al-Yaʻqūbī himself mentioned that the Umayyads took control of the *ḥajj* in 72/691,[16] while the building of Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah had only just been completed in the same year,[17] at which point one may legitimately ask why the Umayyads needed an alternative location for *ḥajj*.[18] Al-Yaʻqūbī also indicated that the Umayyads took part in the *ḥajj* when he said, "In the year 68/687, four flag bearers stood on ʻArafāt: the flag of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah and his companions [Shiʻah], the flag of ʻAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the flag of Najdah b. ʻĀmir al-Ḥarūrī [the Kharidjite]

---

[16] Ibid., p. 281.

[17] Wellhausen said in his book ***The Arab Kingdom And Its Fall***, p. 213: "There is no doubt that Abdulmalik tried hard to invest Jerusalem with greater splendour as a Muslim place of worship, for the tradition that he was the founder of its Dome of the Rock is certified by the inscription still preserved in the oldest part of the building. To be sure, the Abbasid Mamun is now named there as the builder, but de Vogue observed that this name has been falsified. The old date has escaped alteration, and the original purport of the words may therefore be accepted with certainty as follows: "The servant of God, Abdulmalik, the Emir of the Faithful, built this Qubba in the year 72."

[18] It is highly unlikely that people would make a pilgrimage to an unfinished mosque. Therefore, the whole matter becomes highly questionable.

and the flag of the Umayyads ... ."[19] Every flag bearer was very keen not to instigate civil strife during the *ḥajj*.[20]

(ii) When did al-Zuhrī invent this *ḥadīth*?

Historians differ as to when al-Zuhrī was born, though there is a general consensus that it was between 50/670 and 58/678.[21] When we take into account that Palestine only came under the control of 'Abd al-Malik in 66/686,[22] which would have been the time when 'Abd al-Malik cited al-Zuhrī's *ḥadīth* to justify his decree that the destination of *ḥajj* was to be transferred to Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah, then al-Zuhrī would have been aged between eight and sixteen at time. Is it conceivable then that al-Zuhrī, given his age, was so renowned a scholar that 'Abd al-Malik depended upon him to change the destination of *ḥajj*? Had the caliph wished to find a *ḥadīth* propagandist, he would probably have chosen someone more venerable and established. In the meantime, al-Ya'qūbī provides us with a list of the most famous scholars during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik (65-86/685-705) and does not mention al-Zuhrī among them.[23] However, he does consider him as

[19] Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 268. See also p. 263 and Ṭabarī, vol. 7, pp. 24-5.
[20] Ṭabarī, vol. 7, pp. 25-6.
[21] *Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, p. 450.
[22] *Murūj*, vol. 3, p. 106. See also Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, 269.
[23] Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 282.

a noteworthy scholar during the reign of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (98-101/717-20).[24]

In addition to the above, al-Ya‘qūbī also states that Ibn al-Zubayr died in 73/692.[25] Al-Layth b. Sa‘d said, “In 82/701, Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhrī] came to ‘Abd al-Malik.”[26] Moreover, al-Zuhrī himself talks about his arrival in Damascus, saying, “I arrived in Damascus at the time of Ibn al-Ash‘ath's rebellion.”[27] The year in which ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ash‘ath started his rebellion was 82/701.[28] Is it then conceivable that al-Zuhrī invented this *ḥadīth* nine years after the death of Ibn al-Zubayr?

(iii) Was the building of Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah considered sufficient reason for changing the site where the *ḥajj* is performed?

The pilgrims relation to the Ka‘bah when performing the *ḥajj* rituals consists simply in the making of *ṭawāf* (circumambulation) around it for a period of time probably not exceeding one hour at most. However, the *ḥajj* rituals, which people performed even in the pre-Islamic era, take place outside Makkah and last for several days. The Qur'ān indicates the places where the *ḥajj* rituals have to be performed:

---

[24] Ibid., pp. 308-9.
[25] Ibid., p. 267; Ibn Mājah *TK*, p. 30.
[26] *Nubalā'*, vol. 5, p. 328.
[27] Bukhārī *TṢ*, p. 93; *Nubalā'*, vol. 5, p. 329.

﴿لَيْسَ عَلَيْكُمْ جُنَاحٌ أَن تَبْتَغُوا فَضْلًا مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ فَإِذَا أَفَضْتُم مِّنْ عَرَفَاتٍ فَاذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ عِندَ الْمَشْعَرِ الْحَرَامِ وَاذْكُرُوهُ كَمَا هَدَاكُمْ وَإِن كُنتُم مِّن قَبْلِهِ لَمِنَ الضَّالِّينَ، ثُمَّ أَفِيضُوا مِنْ حَيْثُ أَفَاضَ النَّاسُ وَاسْتَغْفِرُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ.﴾

"It is no sin for you to seek the bounty of your Lord. Then when you leave 'Arafāt,[29] remember Allāh at al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām,[30] and remember Him as He has guided you, and verily, you were, before, of those who were astray. Then depart from the place whence all people depart [to Minā][31] and ask Allāh for his forgiveness. Truly, Allāh is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." (Q. 2:198-99.)[32]

It is clear that 'Abd al-Malik would have been unable to create in Palestine places which would be valid substitutes for the specific geographical locations of 'Arafāt, al-Mash'ar al-Ḥaram and Minā, let alone the two mountains of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah where pilgrims perform the obligatory ritual of *sa'y*[33] by going between them.[34]

---

[28] *Ma'ārif*, p. 202. See also Bukhārī *TṢ*, p. 91.
[29] A well known place situated about 25 kilometres to the east of Makkah where pilgrims stay on the 9th day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the 10th month of the Islamic calendar.
[30] i.e. Muzdalifah; a well known place between Minā and 'Arafāt where pilgrims have to stop and stay for the whole night of the 10th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, or a great part of it.
[31] A well known place situated about 8 kilometres from Makkah and approximately 16 kilometres from 'Arafāt where pilgrims have to spend the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.
[32] Places where People should perform *ḥajj*:

(i) They should go to Minā on the 8th of the month.

(ii) When the sun rises on the 9th of the month, they should go to 'Arafāt. And after the sun sets, they should go to Muzdalifah.

(iii) They should go to Minā on the 10th of the month. In the same day, they should go to Makkah and do *ṭawāf* and *sa'y*. Then, they should return to Minā and stay there for the remainder of the 10th and on the 11th, 12th and the 13th.

[33] Going 7 times between the two mountains of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah; one of the essential rites of both *ḥajj* and *'umrah*.
[34] Q. 1.158:

﴿إِنَّ الصَّفَا وَالْمَرْوَةَ مِن شَعَائِرِ اللَّهِ فَمَنْ حَجَّ الْبَيْتَ أَوِ اعْتَمَرَ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِ أَن يَطَّوَّفَ بِهِمَا وَمَن تَطَوَّعَ خَيْرًا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ شَاكِرٌ عَلِيمٌ﴾

(iv) What would the likely attitude of the Umayyads opponents have been with regard to the changing of the designated location for *ḥajj*?

There is not the slightest doubt that making a pilgrimage to any site than Makkah for *ḥajj* was and is considered a clear contravention of Islamic teaching throughout the Muslim world. Would ʻAbd al-Malik then dare to attempt such a dangerous move? If he did, the first people to spread the news would be his opponents, and in effect, we would have heard about it from the history books. Had ʻAbd al-Malik attempted to innovate something of this magnitude, it would have provided a great advantage to his opponents who would not have hesitated to present it as a serious indictment of his character. However, ʻAbd al-Malik was not, in fact, so naive as to provide his opponents with such a golden opportunity.

(v) What was Ibn al-Musayyib's attitude towards al-Zuhrī?

Al-Zuhrī narrated this *ḥadīth* on the authority of his master, Saʻīd b. al-Musayyib, who died in 93/711, as Goldziher indicates.[35] If we presume that al-Zuhrī invented this *ḥadīth* in 66/685, as has been previously stated, was it then conceivable that the master's attitude towards his disciple was a

---

"Verily! al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah are among the Symbols of Allāh. So it is not a sin for those who perform *ḥajj* and *ʻumrah* of the House (the Kaʻbah) to perform the going (*ṭawāf*) between them (al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah). And whoever does good voluntarily, then verily, Allāh is All-Recogniser, All-Knower."

[35] Goldziher said, (vol. 2, p. 45, footnote no. 7) "The tradition in respect of the three mosques, Abū Dāwūd, I, p. 202: *ʻan al-Zuhrī ʻan Saʻīd b. al-Musayyib ʻan Abī Hurayra ʻan al-nabī*, cf. B. *Jumuʻa* no. 26; al-Tirmidhī, I, p. 67."

negative one for all those years because al-Zuhrī had misused his name just to please the Umayyads? This is highly unlikely, particularly in light of the fact that Ibn al-Musayyib was one of the distinguished scholars who was ready to oppose the Umayyads, as Goldziher himself confirms.[36]

(vi) What does the text of the *ḥadīth* tell us in real terms?

The expressions of the actual *ḥadīth* as communicated from al-Zuhrī do not mention the relocation of the *ḥajj*, and certainly do not, in any way, state that the people should sanctify al-Ṣakhrah and make *ṭawāf* around it. Even if we accepted for the sake of argument that al-Zuhrī had invented this *ḥadīth*, he clearly did not state in the *ḥadīth* that people should make the *ḥajj* journey to Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah and make *ṭawāf* around it. In fact, the text of the *ḥadīth* aims to do nothing more than emphasise the special status of al-Masjid al-Aqṣā and indicate that it is permissible for Muslims to visit it, as well as the two other Mosques. It is well known that al-Masjid al-Aqṣā was the first *qiblah* (direction of prayer) and the place from which the Prophet Muḥammad ascended to heaven, as is written in the Qur'ān, and as such it is traditionally regarded as a sacred site.

[36] Goldziher said, "Pious people of Sa'īd's kind frowned at the state of affairs under such rule; they decried the tyrannical government, defied it by passive resistance and even showed their dissatisfaction openly, occasionally going so far as to refuse homage. In return they were hated and despised by the ruling circles." See vol. 2, p. 41.

(vii) Is al-Zuhrī the only traditionist to have reported this *ḥadīth* and traced it back to the Prophet?

Goldziher's theory is further weakened by the fact that al-Zuhrī is not the only traditionist to have reported this *ḥadīth* and traced it back to the Prophet, as can be seen from the following diagram:

The Narraters of the *ḥadīth*:

"Journeys should not be made [to visit any mosque] except towards three mosques; al-Masjid al-Ḥarām [the sacred Mosque in Makkah]; the Mosque of Allāh's Apostle [in Madīnah]; and the Mosque of al-Aqṣā, [in Jerusalem]".

	Companion	Narrator	Narrator	Narrator	Narrator	Sources
The Prophet	Abū Hurayrah	Sa'īd b. al-Musayb	**al-Zuhrī**	Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah	Bukhārī, k. *Faḍl al-Ṣalāh fi Masjid Makkah wa al-Madīnah*, bā. no. 1, ḥ. no. 1189; Muslim, k. *al-Ḥajj*, ḥ. no. 1397, Dāwūd, k. *al-Manāsik*, bā. no. 98. ḥ. no. 2033; Nasā'ī, k. *al-Masājid*, bā. no. 10, ḥ. no. 700; Nasā'ī *SK*, ḥ. no. 779; Bayhaqī, ḥ. no. 19920; *Muntaqā*, p. 135, ḥ. no. 512; *Musnad*1, vol. 2, p. 238; Ḥumaydī, vol. 2, p. 421, ḥ. no. 943.
				Ma'mar	Muslim, k. *al-Ḥajj*, ḥ. no. 1397; *Musnad*1, vol. 2, p. 234 & 278; Ḥibbān, vol. 4, p. 498, ḥ. no. 1619; Ibn Mājah, k. *Iqāmat al-Ṣalāh wa al-Sunnatu fīhā*, bā. 196, ḥ. no. 1409.
		Abū Salamah	Muḥammad b. 'Amr	Yazīd b. Hārūn	Dārimī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. 132, ḥ. no. 1421; *Musnad*1, vol. 2, p. 501.
	Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī	Abū Hārūn al-'Abdī	Sufyān	Abū Na'īm	Ḥumayd, p. 295, ḥ. no. 951.
		'Ikrimah Mawlā Ziyād	'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr	Shu'bah	*Musnad*1, vol. 3, p. 71.
		Abū al-Widāk	Mujālid	Yaḥyā	*Musnad*1, vol. 3, p. 53.
		Shahr	'Abd al-Ḥamīd	Hāshim	*Musnad*1, vol. 3, p. 64.
			Layth	Abū Mu'āwiyah	*Musnad*1, vol. 3, p. 93.
				Jarīr	Ya'lā, vol. 2, p. 489, ḥ. no. 1326.
		Qaza'ah	Shurayḥ b. 'Ubayd	Ḍamḍam b. Zur'ah	Ṭabarānī *M*, vol. 2, p. 451, ḥ. no. 1684.
			Qasm Mawlā 'Amārah	Abān b. Ṣāliḥ	*Musnad*1, vol. 3, p. 78.
			Ibrāhīm b. Suhayl	Mughīrah	*Musnad*1, vol. 3, p. 77.
			Yazīd b. Abī Maryam	Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb	Ṭabarānī *M*, ḥ. no. 1400; Ibn Mājah, k. *Iqāmat al-Ṣalāh wa al-Sunnatu fīhā*, bā. 196, ḥ. no. 1410.
			Qatādah	Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūbah & Hishām b. Abī 'Abd Allāh	Bayhaqī, vol. 2, p. 452, ḥ. no. 4166.
				Sa'īd	*Musnad*1, vol. 3, p. 45.
				Hammām	*Musnad*1, vol. 3, p. 45.
			'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr	Shu'bah	Bukhārī, k. *Faḍl al-Ṣalāh fi Masjid Makkah wa al-Madīnah*, bā. 1, ḥ. no. 1188; *Musnad*1, vol. 3, p. 7; Bayhaqī, vol. 10, p. 82, ḥ. no. 19921.
				Zuhayr	*Musnad*1, vol. 3, p. 51.
				Jarīr	Ya'lā, vol. 2, p. 388, ḥ. no. 1160.
				Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah	Ḥumaydī, ḥ. no. 943; Ḥibbān, vol. 4, p. 495, ḥ. no. 1617; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Ṣalāh*, bā. 126, ḥ. no. 326.
	Abū Baṣrah al-Ghifārī	Marthad b. 'Abd Allāh	Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb	Ibn Isḥāq	*Musnad*1, vol. 6, p. 397; Ṭabarānī *MK*, vol. 2, p. 277, ḥ. no. 2161.
		Sa'īd al-Muqbarī	Zayd b. Aslam	Rawḥ b. Qāsim	Ya'lā, vol. 11, p. 435, ḥ. no. 6558; Ṭabarānī *MK*, vol. 2, p. 276, ḥ. no. 2159.
	↓ Abū Hurayrah	Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf	Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm	Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh	Nasā'ī, k. *al-Jum'ah*, bā. 45, ḥ. no. 1430; Nasā'ī *SK*, ḥ. no. 1754, Mālik, k. *al-Jum'ah*, ḥ. no. 16; Ḥibbān, vol. 7, p. 7, ḥ. no. 2772; *Musnad*1, vol. 6, p. 7; Ḥumaydī, ḥ. no. 944; *Āḥād*, ḥ. no. 1001.
		'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān	'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr	Shaybān	*Musnad*1, vol. 6, p. 7.
				Abū 'Awānah	Ṭayālisī, p. 192; Ṭabarānī *MK*, ḥ. no. 2160.
	Ibn 'Umar	Nāfi'	Hishām b. al-Ghāz	'Alī b. Yūnus	Ṭabarānī *M*, ḥ. no. 538.
		Wahb b. Kaysān	'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar	'Abd Allāh b. Nāfi'	Ṭabarānī *M*, ḥ. no. 538.
	'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib	Ḥujjiyyah b. 'Adī	Salamah b. Kuhayl	Ismā'īl b. Yaḥyā	Ṭabarānī *MS*, ḥ. no. 482.
	'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr	Qaza'ah	Yazīd b. Abī Maryam	Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb	Ṭabarānī *M*, ḥ. no. 1400; Ibn Mājah, k. *Iqāmat al-Ṣalāh wa al-Sunnatu fīhā*, bā. 196, ḥ. no. 1410.
	Abū al-Ja'd al-Ḍamrī	'Ubaydah b. Sufyān	Muḥammad b. 'Amr	'Abthar b. al-Qāsim	*Āḥād*, ḥ. no. 977; Ṭabarānī *MK*, ḥ. no. 919.

As can be seen from the diagram, this *ḥadīth* is reported in a great number of collections of *Ḥadīth*. Al-Zuhrī always reports from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, while the only people to have transmitted the *ḥadīth* from al-Zuhrī are Ma'mar and Sufyān. However al-Zuhrī was not the only source for this *ḥadīth* in his time. A great number of transmitters report this *ḥadīth* and trace it back to the Prophet. We therefore wonder why both al-Ya'qūbī and Goldziher chose to ignore all the many transmitters who reported this *ḥadīth*, and instead chose to focus their attention on al-Zuhrī alone?

In conclusion, we can firmly state that both assertions: That there was an attempt to direct *ḥajj* to Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah; and that al-Zuhrī was the inventer of that *ḥadīth*, can be unequivocally rejected in the light of the explanation above and the historical evidence highlighted in this section.

B. Discussion of his second piece of evidence:

Goldziher says,

> "How the Umayyads made it their business to put into circulation *ḥadīths* which seemed to them desirable, and how people of the type of the pious al-Zuhrī acquiesced in being their tools, though they certainly were not guided by selfish motives but merely by reasons of state expediency, is to be seen from evidence preserved by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī which deserves to be considered in this context. Here we find an account which is handed down by various ways from 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211), a disciple of Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 153), in the name of the latter; Ma'mar himself belonged to the group of the disciples of al-Zuhrī. This acccount tells us that the Umayyad Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, it is not stated whether he was the subsequent ruler of this name (d. 126), came to al-Zuhrī with a note-book he had written, and asked his permission to spread the sayings contained in it as *ḥadīths* communicated by al-Zuhrī. The latter gave his permission easily: 'Who else could have told you the *ḥadīths*?' [citing: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, fol. 73b [ed. Hyderabad, p. 266].] Thus the Umayyad was enabled to circulate the contents of his manuscript as texts taught him by al-Zuhrī. This account fully confirms the willingness of al-Zuhrī (for which we have quoted an example above) to promote the interests of the dynasty by religious means."[37]

Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd's coming to al-Zuhrī with a note-book he had written and asking his permission to narrate it as *ḥadīths* he had heard from al-Zuhrī was an established method of transmitting *Ḥadīth* at that time. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ said, "The fourth division of methods of transmitting *Ḥadīth* is handing in a written manuscript (*munāwalah*), and this is divided further into two types. The first type is handing over combined with permission (*al-munāwalah al-maqrūnah bi al-'ijāzah*). This is considered the highest type and takes a number of forms. One of these forms is as follows: a student may come to his master with a written manuscript or part of the *ḥadīths* communicated to him by the master and present that to him. The master who

is vigilant and well-versed will then cast a deep look at the contents of that book and hand it back to the disciple saying, "I have had a look at what you have written. It contains my narration from my masters, so you can narrate it to others." or "I give you permission to narrate it on my authority." A number of great traditionists called this form *'arḍ* (showing).[38] Al-Hākim said that a group of great traditionists considered this to be like *samā'* (reading by the teacher to students),[39] including:

- A group of traditionists who belonged to the Madanian school, such as 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith, 'Ikrimah b. 'Abbās, Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, ... etc.
- A group of traditionists who belonged to the Makkan school, such as Mujāhid b. Jabr, Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Qurashī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān al-Qāri', ... etc.
- A group of traditionists who belonged to the Kufan school, such as 'Alqamah b. Qays al-Nakha'ī, 'Alī b. Rabī'ah al-Asadī ... etc.
- A group of traditionists who belonged to the Baṣran school, such as 'Alī b. Dāwūd al-Nājī, Qatādah b. Di'āmah al-Sadūsī ... etc.
- A group of traditionists who belonged to the Egyptian school, such as 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, Ashhab b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb ... and a group of Mālikīs after them.
- A group from both Syria and Khurasān.[40]

---

[37] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 46-7.
[38] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, p. 79; *Ma'rifat*, pp. 256-7.
[39] This method has the following features:
(i) Oral recitation.
(ii) Reading from books.
(iii) Questions and answers.
(iv) Dictation.
[40] *Ma'rifat*, pp. 257-8.

In the light of the above, Goldziher's assumption that the note-book which was written by Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd contained *ḥadīths* which he had invented and that al-Zuhrī gave him permission to propagate these as authentic *ḥadīths* which he had heard from him, needs close examination. The following points should be noted:

1. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī mentions two narrations with two different *isnāds*, on the authority of Ma'mar, with regard to Ibrāhīm's request. The second narration, which Goldziher ignores, clearly states that what was written in Ibrāhīm's note-book was part of al-Zuhrī's *Ḥadīth* (*'ilm.*)[41]

2. Both narrations contain the word *'arḍ* which was one of the methods of receiving *Ḥadīth* as we have previously stated.

3. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī mentions these two narrations in the context of those who considered *'arḍ* to be the same as *samā'*.[42]

4. Ibn 'Asākir clearly states that Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd was one of those who had heard *ḥadīths* from al-Zuhrī.[43] This confirms that Ibrāhīm presented to his master *ḥadīths* that he had heard from him. According to the narration of Ibn 'Asākir with regard to Ibrāhīm's request, al-Zuhrī said to Ibrāhīm after he asked his permission to disseminate the note-book he had written, "*Wa man yujīzuka bihā ghayrī?* (Who else other than me could give you the

[41] *Kifāyah*, p. 302.

permission to communicate it?)"[44] This was said because, indeed, no traditionist other than al-Zuhrī himself would have been able to give permission to his disciples to communicate his own *ḥadīth*. On this basis we have to understand the saying of al-Zuhrī as meaning, according to al-Khaṭīb's narration, "*Faman yuḥaddithukumuhu ghayrī*? (Who else other than me narrated it to you?)" In other words, because I have narrated it to you, you can go and narrate it to others. It certainly does not mean, or imply by any stretch of the imagination, "Who else other than me could have given you the authority to spread a fabricated *ḥadīth*?" as Goldziher understood.

In addition, al-Zuhrī's permission to narrate the *Ḥadīth* was not restricted to the Umayyad, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, but he also granted the same dispensation to many of his disciples. Ma'mar himself said, "I learned *'ilm* (*Ḥadīth*) from al-Zuhrī and asked him, 'Shall I communicate it on your authority?' Al-Zuhrī said to him, '*Wa man ḥaddathaka bihi ghayrī*? (Who else other than me narrated it to you?)'"[45] Moreover, al-Zuhrī was not the only traditionist who did this with his disciples -a number of others did so also.[46]

---

[42] Ibid., p. 298.
[43] Ibn 'Asākir, vol. 7, p. 246.
[44] Ibid.
[45] *Kifāyah*, p. 302. See:
i) ***The Life of az-Zuhrī and his scholarship in Qur'anic science and Tradition***, p. 126 ff for full information regarding al-Zuhrī's methods of disseminating knowledge by means of writing, and p. 215 ff for the methods used by al-Zuhrī in transmitting the *Ḥadīth*.
ii) *Kifāyah*, p. 355 ff.
[46] See *Kifāyah*, p. 357 ff.

C. Discussion of his third piece of evidence:

Goldziher says,

> "How the Umayyads made it their business to put into circulation *ḥadīths* which seemed to them desirable, and how people of the type of the pious al-Zuhrī acquiesced in being their tools, though they certainly were not guided by selfish motives but merely by reasons of state expediency, is to be seen from evidence preserved by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī which deserves to be considered in this context. ... This account fully confirms the willingness of al-Zuhrī (for which we have quoted an example above) to promote the interests of the dynasty by religious means. His piety probably caused his conscience to be troubled occasionally but he could not for ever resist the pressure of the governing circles. The Ma'mar just mentioned preserved a characteristic saying by al-Zuhrī: 'These emirs forced people to write *ḥadīths* (*akrahanā 'alayhi hā'ulā'i 'l-umarā'*)' [citing: *JASB*, 1856, p. 326, no. 93. [=al-Khaṭīb, *Taqyīd*, 140]]. This account can only be understood on the assumption of al-Zuhrī's willingness to lend his name, which was in general esteemed by the Muslim community, to the government's wishes."[47]

Al-Zhurī's statement, "*Akrahanā 'alayhi hā'ulā'i al-'umarā'*," was given in a context which is completely outwith the issue of the invention of *Ḥadīth*. The outcome is that Goldziher invests al-Zuhrī's saying with a meaning utterly other than what is intended. The complete text of al-Zuhrī's saying, as narrated by Ma'mar, is "*Kunnā nakrah kitāb al-'ilm ḥattā akrahanā 'alayhi ha'ulā'i al-umarā', fara'aynā an lā namna'ahu aḥadan min al-muslimīn* (We used to dislike writing down *Ḥadīth* (*'ilm*), until these emirs forced us to write them down. So, we thought that we should not prevent any Muslim from doing likewise.)"[48] Thus, the text expresses al-Zuhrī's displeasure at writing down *Ḥadīth* and by extension, at other people writing down

[47] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 46-7.

ḥadīths that they had heard from him. This is further confirmed by Abū al-Malīḥ when he says, "We did not wish to write down the *Ḥadīth* we had heard from al-Zuhrī until Hishām [the tenth caliph of the Umayyad dynasty[49]], forced him, and he wrote them for Hishām's sons. People then started to write down the *Ḥadīth*."[50] Another narration states even more clearly that al-Zuhrī used to prevent them from writing down the *Ḥadīth* he communicated to them. However, he only gave his permission to people to write the *Ḥadīth* after Hishām had forced him to dictate to his sons.[51] After he had finished dictating the *Ḥadīth* to the sons of Hishām, al-Zuhrī then summoned the traditionists and dictated the same *ḥadīths* to them.[52]

We should also note Goldziher's misinterpretation of al-Zuhrī's saying, "*akrahanā 'alayhi hā'ulā'i al-umarā'*." The correct translation is, "These emirs forced us to write down the *Ḥadīth*," and not, "These emirs forced people to write *ḥadiths*." The former clearly refers to the writing down of the *ḥadīths*, whereas the latter insinuates the idea of invention.

[48] *Taqyīd*, p. 107; *Muṣannaf* 1, vol. 11, p. 285, no. 20486; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 2, p. 389; *Bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 76-7.
[49] He reigned from 105-125/724-743. See diagram: 'The Banū Umayyah and the Umayyad caliphs,' p. 164.
[50] *Ḥilyat*, vol. 3, p. 363.
[51] *Nubalā'*, vol. 5, 334.
[52] *Ḥuffāẓ*, vol. 1, p. 110.

Second: A discussion of his evidence in support of his accusation of Rajā' Ibn Ḥaywah:

Goldziher says,

> "For prestige reasons the caliph was now to give one *khuṭba* seated. That this meant a change of the rite of the *khuṭba* is often confirmed by the historians. But this seems to have aroused the disapproval of pious people faithful to the sunna and an official theologian had to be found in order to instruct them: Rajā' b. Ḥaywah (d. II2), otherwise praised as a pious authority, who was considered a sort of adviser in matters of conscience in the court of several Umayyad rulers, [citing: *Fragm. hist. arab.*, p. 7: *anna R.b.H. rawā lahum hādhā fa-akhadhū bihi*] asserted that one of the old caliphs, 'Uthmān, upon whom the legitimacy of the dynasty was, as is well known, founded, also used to stand during the first *khuṭba*[53] but delivered the second seated.[54]

The narration which Goldziher cites as evidence in accusing Rajā' b. Ḥaywah of inventing *ḥadīth* is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and Abū al-Maḥāsin. All of these scholars, including the anonymous author of ***Fragm. Hist. Arab.*** [as we have indicated above, the original title of this book is: ***al-'Uyūn wa al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq***], have clearly stated, with the exception of Ibn al-Athīr, that the source of this narration was al-Wāqidī.[55] When we compare the narration which Goldziher cites from ***al-'Uyūn wa al-ḥadā'iq*** with the other narrations we notice three things. Before we consider them, it is worthwhile presenting the original Arabic texts and their translation:

---

[53] According to the above reference Goldziher should have said that "'Uthmān used to sit during the first *khuṭba* but delivered the second standing."

[54] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 49-51.

[55] For al-Ṭabarī, see vol. 7, pp. 367, line no. 16; for Abū al-Maḥāsin, see vol. 1, p. 224, line no. 7; for the anonymous author of ***al-'Uyūn wa al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq***, see vol. 3, p. 4, line no. 18.

The narration by the anonymous author of *al-'Uyūn wa al-Ḥadā'iq*:

قال الواقدي: "... قال اسحاق بن يحيى: 'رأيتُ الوليد يخطب على منبر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم الجمعة عامَ حجَّ ... فخطب الخطبة الأولى وهو جالس، ثمّ قام فخطب الثانية قائماً.' قال اسحاق: 'فلقيتُ رجآء بن حَيْوَة، زاهد بني أمية، وهو معه، فقلتُ: هكذا تصنعون في خُطَبكم؟ قال: 'نعم، وهكذا صنع معاوية، وهكذا صنع عبد الملك، قال [عبد الملك]: 'وهكذا كان يخطب عثمان.' فقلتُ: والله ما خطب عثمان إلاّ قائماً. إلاّ أنّ رجآء بن حَيْوَة روى لهم هذا فأخذوا به.'''

Al-Wāqidī said that, "... Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā said, 'I saw al-Walīd delivering the *khuṭbah* on the pulpit of the Prophet of Allāh, may Allāh bless and preserve him, on Friday in the year that he made the pilgrimage ... He delivered the first *khuṭbah* sitting, then he stood, and delivered the second standing.' Isḥāq continued, 'I met Rajā' b. Ḥaywah, the ascetic of the Umayyads,[56] who was accompanying [al-Walīd], and I asked him: Do you [always] do it this way in your *khuṭbahs*? He replied, 'Yes. Mu'āwiyah did it this way, as did 'Abd al-Malik. And ['Abd al-Malik] said that ''Uthmān delivered the *khuṭbah* in this way.' Isḥāq replied, 'By Allāh, 'Uthmān only delivered *khuṭbahs* standing up. However, Rajā' had narrated this to them and they acted upon it.'"[57]

The narration of al-Ṭabarī:

قال محمد بن عمر [الواقدي]: "وحدثني اسحاق بن يحيى، قال: 'رأيتُ الوليد يخطب على منبر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم الجمعة عام حج ... فخطب الخطبة الأولى وهو جالس، ثم قام فخطب الثانية قائماً'، قال اسحاق: 'فلقيتُ رجآء بن حَيْوَة وهو معه ، فقلتُ: هكذا يصنعون؟ قال: 'نعم، وهكذا صنع

[56] Rajā' b. Ḥaywah is not Ummayad, but was known as an ascetic of the Ummayads during their period of governance.
[57] *'Uyūn*, vol. 3, p. 4 & 7. The missing 4th volume begins with the al-Wāthiq caliphate (d. 232/846).

معاوية فهلم جرا.' قلتُ: أفلا تكلمه؟ قال: 'أخبرني قَبيصة بن ذُوَيب أنه كلم عبد الملك بن مروان فـأبى أن يفعل، وقال: 'هكذا خطب عثمان.'' فقلتُ: والله ما خطب هكذا، ما خطب عثمان إلاّ قائماً.' قال رجآء بن حَيْوَة: 'رُوِيَ لهم هذا فأخذوا به.'''

Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī] said, "Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā narrated to me that he said: 'I saw al-Walīd delivering the *khuṭbah* on the pulpit of the Prophet of Allāh, may Allāh bless and preserve him, on Friday in the year when he made the pilgrimage ... He delivered the first *khuṭbah* sitting, then he stood, and delivered the second standing.' Isḥāq continued: 'I met Rajā' b. Ḥaywah, who was accompanying [al-Walīd], and I asked him: Do they [always] do it this way? He replied, 'Yes. Mu'āwiyah did it this way, and so on.' I said: 'Are not you going to speak to him [about it]? He said, 'Qabīṣah b. Dhu'ayb informed me that he spoke to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān [about it], and he refused to do [anything different], saying, ''Uthmān delivered the *khuṭbah* in this way.'' Isḥāq replied: By Allāh, he did not deliver *khuṭbahs* in this way; 'Uthmān only delivered *khuṭbahs* standing up.' However, Rajā' said, 'This was narrated to them and they act upon it.'"[58]

■ Additional words not existing the narration of the anonymous author.
■ Words omitted from the narration of the anonymous author.

This narration has been reported by Ibn al-Athīr[59] and Abū al-Maḥāsin[60] in exactly the same words as used by al-Ṭabarī.

---

[58] Ṭabarī, vol. 7, pp. 367-8.

[59] *Kāmil*, vol. 4, p. 439:

''وصلى بالمدينة الجمعة، فخطب الناس الأولى جالساً، ثم قام فخطب الخطبة الثانية قائماً، قال إسحاق بن يحيى: 'فقلت لرجاء بن حَيَوة وهو معه أهكذا تصنعون؟' قال: 'نعم – مكرّراً – وهكذا صنع معاوية وهلمّ جرا.' قال فقلت له: هلاّ تكلّمـــه! قــال: 'أخبرني قَبيصة بن ذؤيب أنه كلّم عبد الملك ولم يترك القعود، وقال: 'هكذا خطب عثمان.'' قال فقلت: والله مـــا خطـــب إلا قائماً.' قال رجاء: 'رُوِيَ لهم شيء فاقتدوا به.'''

[60] *Nujūm*, vol. 1, pp. 223-4:

First: The anonymous author presented the narration in an abbreviated way, and this has led to confusion and distortion in his narration. As a result of this, Goldziher assumed that the statement, "Uthmān delivered *khuṭbahs* in this way (هكذا خطب عثمان," had been made by Rajā' b. Ḥaywah whereas, according to al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and Abū al-Maḥāsin, it was actually made by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

Second: As a result of this distortion it seems to state that Rajā' b. Ḥaywah narrated this to the Umayyads and that they subsequently acted upon it (*anna Rajā' b. Ḥaywah rawā* (روَى) *lahum hādhā fa-akhadhū bihi.*) However, the same narration, as reported by the above-mentioned scholars, actually states that Rajā' said, "This was narrated to them and they acted upon it (*qāla Rajā' b. Ḥaywah*: *ruwiya* (رُوِيَ) *lahum hādhā fa-akhadhū bihi.*)" We presume that the reason for this distortion is the omission of the word '*qāla*' (said) from the text: "However, Rajā' b. Ḥaywah said (إلاّ أنّ رجاء بن حَيْوَةَ [قال])" When '*qāla*' is restored, the word '*rawā*' (روَى), meaning that Rajā' b. Ḥaywah narrated, is read '*ruwiya*' (رُوِيَ), meaning that Rajā' b. Ḥaywah said that this was narrated.

"وصلى الوليد الجُمُعة بالمدينة، فخطب الناس الخطبة الأولى جالساً، ثم قام فخطب الثانية قائماً، قال إسحاق بن يحي: 'فقلت لرجاء بن حَيَوة وهو معه أهكذا يصنعون؟' قال: 'هكذا صنع معاوية وهلمّ جرّا.' قال فقلت: ألَا تُكلّمه! قال: 'أخبرني قَبِيصَةُ بن ذُؤَيْب أنه كلّم عبد الملك فلم يترك القعود، وقال: 'هكذا خطب عثمان.'' قال فقلت: والله ما خطب إلا قائماً.' قال رجاء: 'رُوِيَ لهم شيء فأخذوا به.'''

Third: We should also note that the statement in question was made by Rajā' after a dialogue had taken place between him and Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā on the issue of sitting during the *khuṭbah*, from which it is apparent that Rajā' was not in favour of sitting. The dialogue in question is given in all the narrations except for the abbreviated one which Goldziher cites as his evidence.

In addition, this expression "This was narrated to them and they acted upon it (*qāla Rajā' b. Ḥaywah ruwiya* (رُوِيَ) *lahum hādhā fa-akhadhū bihi*)," clearly means that the Umayyads themselves had been previously informed that it was permissible to sit in one of the two *khuṭbahs* and that they took that as evidence of its acceptability. This is contrary to Goldziher's understanding that Rajā', or indeed another party, had concocted it to support the Umayyads' practice.[61] As we have seen, the context of the Arabic expression reveals that they had begun to sit in the *khuṭbah* only after evidence concerning this issue had reached them.

It is clear from the above analysis that this particular narration from al-Waqidī has been shortened, by the anonymous author, in a way that has resulted in its distortion.

---

[61] Goldziher said, "In Abū al-Maḥāsin, I, p. 249 the matter is represented differently: it was not Rajā' who invented the tradition; it was he who stated that other people made it up in order to support Umayyad practice." See vol. 2, p. 51, footnote 5.

Therefore, to accuse Rajā' b. Ḥaywah, or indeed another party of inventing a *ḥadīth* to the effect that 'Uthmān used to stand in the first *khuṭbah* but delivered the second seated in order to support Umayyad practice is an invalid and unacceptable accusation.

SECTION 4

DISCUSSION OF A *ḤADĪTH* INVENTED BY THE UMAYYADS, IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PRIVILEGES CLAIMED BY THEM, WHICH INDICATED THAT EVEN 'ALĪ HAD DELIVERED THE *KHUṬBAH* SEATED

Goldziher says,

> "These circles said even of 'Alī that he delivered the *khuṭba* seated. It is, however, interesting to observe that the significance of this account was already obliterated by the third century, when the victory of the sunna had rendered the stoutly independent attitude of the old Arab rulers no longer comprehensible, and that even al-Jāḥiẓ is only capable of giving a very naive explanation [citing: *Bayān*, fol. 20a, [i, II8]: *yurīdu biqawlihi qā'idan khuṭbat al-nikāḥ*; here it is related on the authority of al-Haytham b. 'Adī that the *khuṭba* was never given seated]."[62]

Goldziher's claim that these circles said even of 'Alī that he delivered the *khuṭbah* seated, needs close examination. The evidence he mentions in support of his claim, namely a statement by al-Haytham b. 'Adī, is incomplete. A more comprehensive appraisal of the matter follows:

[62] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 51.

قال الجاحظ: "وروى أبو مِخْنَف عن الحارث الأعور، قال: 'والله رأيتُ علياً وإنه ليخطبُ قاعداً كقـــائم، ومحارِباً كمُسالِم.' يريد بقوله: 'قاعداً': خطبة النكاح. وقال الهيثم بن عديّ: 'لم تكن الخطباء تخطب قعوداً إلا في خُطْبة النكاح.'''

Al-Jāḥiẓ said, "Abū Mikhnaf narrated on the authority of al-Ḥārith b. al-A'war [d. 65/684] who said, 'By Allāh, I saw 'Alī deliver his *khuṭbah* seated as if he was standing and I saw him waging war as if he was a man of peace.' He meant *khuṭbat al-nikāḥ.* Al-Haytham b. 'Adī [d. 207/816] said, 'Speakers never give their *khuṭbahs* seated except when they deliver *khuṭbat al-nikāḥ.*'"[63]

It can be seen from the above text that al-Jāḥiẓ, after he mentions the saying of al-Ḥārith b. al-A'war: 'By Allāh, I saw 'Alī deliver his *khuṭbah* seated as if he was standing ...,' goes on to explain what is meant by 'seated.' He says, "He [al-Ḥārith b. al-A'war] meant *khuṭbatu al-nikāḥ* [the *khuṭbah* of the marriage ceremony]." Al-Jāḥiẓ then cites al-Haytham b. 'Adī's statement to support his explanation; he says, "Al-Haytham b. 'Adī said, 'Speakers never give their *khuṭbahs* seated except when they deliver *khuṭbat al-nikāḥ* (*lam takun al-khuṭabā' takhṭubu qu'ūdan illā fī khuṭbati al-nikāḥ.*)'" However, Goldziher quotes al-Haytham's statement without mentioning the exception, saying, "Here it is related on the authority of al-Haytham b. 'Adī that the *khuṭbah* was never given seated."[64]

Thus, al-Jāḥiẓ's explanation was not a naive one. Al-Haytham's statement supplies evidence in support of the coming section's conclusion;

[63] *Tabyīn*, vol. 1, p. 118.
[64] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 51, footnote no. 6.

that the caliphs only delivered the *khuṭbah* seated when they had to, indeed, al-Shafi'ī held the opinion that it is permissible for a person who is sick to deliver the *khuṭbah* seated.[65] Therefore, Goldziher's observation that, "...the significance of this account was already obliterated by the third century, when, the victory of the sunna had rendered the stoutly independent attitude of the old Arab rulers no longer comprehensible," results from a combination of misunderstanding of the material and sheer imagination.

[65] Shāfi'ī *U*, vol. 1, pp. 342-3:
"فإن خطب [الإمام] جالساً من عِلّةٍ أجْزَأَهُ ذلك، وأجزأ من خلفه. وإن خطب جالساً وهم يرونه صحيحاً، فلذكر عِلّةً فهو امين على نفسه. وكذلك هذا في الصلاة."

SECTION 5

DISCUSSION OF A *ḤADĪTH* INVENTED BY THE UMAYYADS IN THE INTEREST OF THE PRIVILEGES CLAIMED BY THEM, WHICH INDICATED THAT THE PROPHET USED TO SIT IN HIS *KHUṬBAH*

Goldziher says,

> "How far reaching were the falsifications inspired by the Umayyads in the interests of the privileges claimed by them is evident from the fact that they not only cited 'Uthmān, but even the Prophet as their examples, and that opponents of these falsifications make Jābir b. Samura, a Companion of the Prophet, conclude his description with the words: 'He who tells you that the Prophet delivered the *khuṭba* sitting is a liar [citing: Abū Dāwūd, I, p. 109; al-Nasā'ī, p. 215: *fa-man ḥaddathakum anna rasūlallāhi kāna yakhṭubu qā'idan faqad kadhaba*]."[66]

As far as the statement of Jābir b. Samurah, "He who tells you that the Prophet delivered the *khuṭbah* sitting is a liar," is concerned, this statement is not necessarily an answer to or a refutation of a *ḥadīth* invented by the Umayyads which indicated that the Prophet used to sit in his *khuṭbah*. If evidence of this really existed where is it? Why did the Umayyads not reveal it in public? Would the first Umayyads then dare to invent a *ḥadīth* that the Prophet used to sit in his *khuṭbah* while his Companions who lived with him and witnessed his *khuṭbahs* were still alive? Again, would they dare to contradict the actual action of the Prophet that is described in the

Qur'ān.[67] In addition, Jābir died in 74/693[68] and there is ample evidence, which will be given shortly, to confirm that the most prominent Umayyad caliphs, who were Jābir's contemporaries, used to deliver the *khuṭbah* standing, only sitting down when they had to. For instance:

'Uthmān used to deliver the *khuṭbah* standing until he became old and was afflicted by a body tremor.[69] Ibn Jurayj said, "I asked 'Aṭā', 'Who was the first to sit in the *khuṭbah*?' He said, 'It was 'Uthmān in his last days when he had become old and a tremor had afflicted him. He used to sit down for a while and then stand up and resume his *khuṭbah*.' I asked him, 'Did he speak while sitting?' He said, 'I do not know.'"[70] This is further confirmed by the statement of Abū Qaza'ah, "'Uthmān was afflicted by a tremor; when he stood up to deliver the *khuṭbah* he used to rest for a while before standing up again to resume his *khuṭbah*."[71]

Mu'āwiyah, who died in 60/680 AH, also used to deliver the *khuṭbah* standing. When he became old, he only sat down for one of the *khutbahs* after getting permission from people, saying, "I have reached old age and I would like to sit during one of the two *khuṭbahs*." As a result he

---

[66] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 51-2.
[67] See p. 309.
[68] *Tahdhīb*, vol. 2, pp. 39-40.
[69] *Muṣannaf* 1, vol. 3, pp. 187-9, ḥ. no. 5258 on the authority of Qatādah, ḥ. no. 5265 on the authority of 'Aṭā'.
[70] Ibid., p. 189, no. 5266.
[71] Ibid., p. 188, no. 5262. See also p. 187, no. 5258 on the authority of Qatādah.

delivered the first *khuṭbah* seated.[72] Al-Sha'bī gave a clearer reason for Mu'āwiyah's desire to sit, saying, "The first person to deliver the *khuṭbah* seated was Mu'āwiyah when he became a corpulent old man with a big stomach."[73] Abū Isḥāq also says, "The first person to deliver the *khuṭbah* seated was Mu'āwiyah, who apologized to the people saying that he had a sore foot."[74]

It is not mentioned whether Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah (d. 64/683), his son Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd (d. 64/683) and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (d. 65/685) delivered the *khuṭbah* standing or seated.

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, who ruled from 65/685 to 86/705 AH, also delivered the *khuṭbah* standing. Sulaymān b. Mūsā says, "... the first person to deliver the *khuṭbah* seated was Mu'āwiyah. When 'Abd al-Malik became caliph, he delivered the *khuṭbah* standing. He kicked the pulpit with his foot and said, 'This is the *Sunnah.*' However, in the course of time it became hard for him and later he delivered the *khuṭbah* seated."[75]

Therefore, one can not rule out the possibility that the statement of Jābir may have come in answer to some people who thought that the

---

[72] Ibid., pp. 188-9, no. 5264 from Ja'far b. Muḥammad on the authority of his father.
[73] *Muṣannaf*, vol. 7, p. 247, no. 35724.
[74] Ibid., p. 260, no. 35881.

Prophet sat in the *khuṭbah* since they had seen a number of caliphs deliver one of the two *khuṭbahs* seated. This statement was made merely to clarify the truth for them and not in refutation of another *ḥadīth* invented by the Umayyads, which stated that the Prophet sat in the *khuṭbah*. This understanding is further confirmed by the statement of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, who died just one year before Jābir (namely, 73/692), when he said, "The Prophet used to deliver the Friday *khuṭbah* standing, then he would sit down for a while before standing up to resume his *khuṭbah*, as is the practice at present (*kamā yaf'alūn al-yawm*.)"[76]

In addition to the above, it is inconceivable that any caliph could, without encountering serious difficulties, contradict the verse in *sūrat al-Jumu'ah* which indicates the standing of the Prophet during his *khuṭbah*;

"وَإِذَا رَأَوْا تِجَارَةً أَوْ لَهْوًا انفَضُّوا إِلَيْهَا وَتَرَكُوكَ قَائِمًا ..."

"And when they see some merchandise or some amusement, they disperse headlong to it, and leave you [Muḥammad] standing [while delivering the *khuṭbah* of *Jumu'ah*]... ." (Q. 62:11)[77]

---

[75] *Muṣannaf* 1, vol. 3, pp. 187-8, ḥ. no. 5259.

[76] Muslim, k. *al-Jumu'ah*, ḥ. no. 33; Tirmidhī, k. *al-Jumu'ah*, bā. no. 11, ḥ. no. 506; Bukhārī, k. *al-Jumu'ah*, bā. no. 27, ḥ. no. 920.

[77] Also, see Muslim, k. *al-Jumu'ah*, ḥ. no. 863:
حَدَّثَنَا عُثْمَانُ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ وَإِسْحَقُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ كِلَاهُمَا عَنْ جَرِيرٍ قَالَ عُثْمَانُ حَدَّثَنَا جَرِيرٌ عَنْ حُصَيْنِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ عَنْ سَالِمِ بْنِ أَبِي الْجَعْدِ عَنْ جَابِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَ يَخْطُبُ قَائِمًا يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ، فَجَاءَتْ عِيرٌ مِنَ الشَّامِ، فَانْفَتَلَ النَّاسُ إِلَيْهَا حَتَّى لَمْ يَبْقَ إِلَّا اثْنَا عَشَرَ رَجُلًا، فَأُنْزِلَتْ هَذِهِ الْآيَةُ الَّتِي فِي الْجُمُعَةِ: (وَإِذَا رَأَوْا تِجَارَةً أَوْ لَهْوًا انْفَضُّوا إِلَيْهَا وَتَرَكُوكَ قَائِمًا).

In the light of the above evidence, we find that Goldziher uses an authoritative tone and a self-consistent but largely erroneous interpretation of selected material to lend credence to his sweeping claims. He says,

> "... standing in front of the community was apparently not to the taste of proud Umayyad princes. They did, however, value highly ascending the *minbar* as head of the people, and considered this privilege as an important part of their dignity as rulers, as is evident from the panegyrics on the rulers of this dynasty."[78]

And further,

> "But their aristocratic arrogance – if the mind of those proud Qurayshites is pictured – seems to have revolted at the idea of standing like hired preachers before their subjects."[79]

[78] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 49.
[79] Ibid, p. 50.

CHAPTER 6
THE THEOLOGIANS AND FABRICATION

An analysis of the evidence Goldziher cites in support of his claim that the theologians fabricated *Ḥadīth*

Section 1: Goldziher's evidence regarding the theologians' fabrications.

Section 2: Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah.

Section 3: Al-Layth b. Sa'd and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid.

Section 4: Shahr b. Ḥawshab.

SECTION 1

GOLDZIHER'S EVIDENCE REGARDING THE THEOLOGIANS' FABRICATION

This section will be devoted to the presentation of his evidence regarding the role of the theologians in the fabrication of *Ḥadīth.*

Goldziher says,

> "If so much trouble was taken by authority to find theological support for such trivial ritualistic details, how much greater must have been the activity shown by the machinery of government in cases concerned with spreading among the masses traditional authority for political and dynastic interests. The greater part of the traditions invented for these purposes were probably due to official initiative and influence. It is expressly reported of the great general al-Muhallab, the scourge of the Khārijite dissenters (d. 83), that he was concerned with falsifying traditions to encourage his soldiers against these mutineers. Amongst high officials of the Umayyad dynasty there are several who are accounted as *muḥaddithūn*; to name only Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 128) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid (d. 124). Amongst traditions which the *mawlā* Layth b. Sa'd spread on the authority of the latter there are presumably many which were to benefit the prevailing political tendencies, because this 'Abd al-Raḥmān was for years an important official of Umayyad princes. Al-Nasā'ī's strict criticism is lenient towards him, which might not have been the case if al-Nasā'ī had been more closely acquainted with the circumstances. This fact is curiously

illuminated by an unintentional, and naive, saying of Ibn 'Awn (d. 151). This refers to Shahr b. Ḥawshab (whose date of death is uncertain; either 98 or 112); he was considered unreliable in his communications because he had accepted a government post. This view is telling evidence that tendentious traditions were smuggled in through official initiative."[1]

He adds in the footnote that:

"Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal considers Shahr as not worthy of consideration."[2]

He continues,

"Later the real understanding for this phenomenon was lost and al-Bukhārī declared Shahr to be worthy of credit since nothing bad was known about his character."[3]

In the footnote he says:

"We find Shahr as an authority in innumerable *ḥadīths*."[4]

He continues,

"People who were nearer to the conditions of the time could judge things differently, like Ibn 'Awn who lived but a few decades after Shahr and perhaps had proof that theologians in official position were used - or were willing, without outward pressure, because of their interest in the prevailing power - to put into circulation tendentious traditions."[5]

---

[1] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 52.
[2] Ibid., p. 52, footnote no. 5.
[3] Ibid., p. 52.
[4] Ibid., p. 52, footnote no. 6.
[5] Ibid., pp. 52-3.

SECTION 2

AL-MUHALLAB IBN ABĪ ṢUFRAH

Goldziher says,

> "If so much trouble was taken by authority to find theological support for such trivial ritualistic details, how much greater must have been the activity shown by the machinery of government in cases concerned with spreading among the masses traditional authority for political and dynastic interests. The greater part of the traditions invented for these purposes were probably due to official initiative and influence. It is expressly reported of the great general al-Muhallab, the scourge of the Khārijite dissenters (d. 83), that he was concerned with falsifying traditions to encourage his soldiers against these mutineers [citing: al-Mubarrad, p. 632, 14].[6]

The judgement by al-Mubarrad (d. 286 AH) on al-Muhallab (d. either 82 or 83 AH) is unique to him, with no one else in concurrence, before or since. He made his judgement about 200 years after the death of al-Muhallab, and was not resolute in this judgement. He said, "[Al-Muhallab] may have fabricated *ḥadīth* (*rubbamā ṣana'a al-ḥadīth*)." Here is the original text and translation:

قال أبو العباس [المبرد]: "فكان المهلب ربما صنع الحديث ليشد به من أمر المسلمين ويضعف من أمر الخوارج."

[6] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 52.

Abū al-'Abbās [al-Mubarrad] said, "Al-Muhallab may have fabricated *ḥadīth* in order to strengthen the Muslims' case and weaken the Khārijites' case."[7]

Thus Goldziher goes too far in stating definitively that al-Muhallab was concerned with falsifying *ḥadīths*. Other than the less than positive statement of al-Mubarrad, there is no other evidence; none of the *ḥadīths* in question have been identified, and al-Mubarrad himself does not mention any of them in his book ***al-Kāmil fī al-lughah***. Al-Mubarrad was one of several scholars who relates al-Muhallab's many encounters in his battle against the Khārijites.[8] Despite this, we do not find a single instance in the accounts of these campaigns where a *ḥadīth* which was fabricated by al-Muhallab is mentioned. If al-Muhallab had falsified even a single *ḥadīth*, it seems likely that al-Mubarrad would have been very keen to reveal it due to al-Mubarrad's inclination towards the Khārijite position.

There is no doubt that there is some evidence that al-Muhallab may have told lies. However, the statements in question concern the state of the war and have nothing to do with the *Ḥadīth*. In fact, many scholars have refuted the statements of those who have branded him a liar:

A. Ibn Qutaybah says, "Al-Muhallab's only shortcoming with people who disapproved of him were his lies ... ."[9] However, Ibn Qutaybah also says, "I say that al-Muhallab was one of the most pious people and was far above uttering lies, but he

[7] Mubarrad, vol. 3, p. 319.
[8] See also *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, p. 330.

was a man of war and the Prophet said, 'War is deceit.'[10] To this effect, al-Muhallab employed allusion in his speech to intimidate the Khārijites."[11]

B. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr says in ***al-Isti'āb***, "... al-Muhallab is a trustworthy person. There is no harm in him (*laysa bihi ba's*). As for those who blamed him for being a liar, we do not see any reason why they should do so. This is because a man of war like him was bound to use tricks and allusion. Those who do not know the truth about those tricks would consider them to be lies."[12]

C. Al-Zamakhsharī says in ***al-Mustaqṣā***, "Despite his lies he used to scatter the scalps of every liar and was very firm in rebuking and discrediting them."[13]

D. Al-'Abdarī says in ***Timthāl al-amthāl***, "Look at those who branded him a liar; they were either a group of his own people, who did so out of envy and hatred, or were Khārijites who, if they had been able to brand him as something worse than that, such as being an unbeliever, would not have hesitated to do so. In fact, the Khārijites think of al-Muhallab and all Muslims as unbelievers. If I intended to elaborate on what the scholars have stated regarding the refutation of, and apology

---

[9] *Ma'ārif*, p. 225.
[10] See Bukhārī, k. *al-Jihād*, ba. no. 157, ḥ. no. 3030. Also, al-Bukhārī narrated a *ḥadīth* as evidence that telling lies in war is permissible. See k. *al-Jihād*, bā. no. 158: telling lies in the war (*al-kadhib fī al-ḥarb*), ḥ. no. 3031. Moreover, al-Mubarrad presented three *ḥadīths* as evidence to confirm that telling lies in war is permissible. See Mubarrad, vol. 3, p. 318.
[11] *Ma'ārif*, p. 225.
[12] *Isti'āb*, vol. 4, p. 1692, no. 3046.
[13] *Mustaqṣā*, vol. 1, 291, no. 1246.

for, this matter [e.g. branding al-Muhallab as a liar] I could have given you a clear picture."[14]

E. Ibn Ḥajar says, "He was an expert in war. Therefore, his enemies used to accuse him of being a liar."[15]

Thus, al-Muhallab was not accused of falsifying and inventing *ḥadīths*. None of the scholars of *al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* accuse him of doing so, and al-Mubarrad was certainly not a scholar in that field. On the contrary, as we have just seen, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Ibn Ḥajar, and others such as Ibn Ḥibbān,[16] state that al-Muhallab was a trustworthy and reliable authority.

There is also the possibility that al-Mubarrad may have employed the term *ḥadīth*, not in its technical sense, but in the general meaning of his 'conversation or discussions.'[17] In view of this, the fact that no *ḥadīth* in the technical sense are

---

[14] *Timthāl*, vol. 1, p. 256.

[15] *Taqrīb*, vol. 2, p. 280, no. 1424.

[16] *Tahdhīb*, vol. 10, p. 330.

[17] See the above original text. What further confirms this view is that al-Mubarrad, just before what he said about al-Muhallab, presented three *ḥadīths* as evidence to confirm that telling lies in a state of war is permissible:

1– ''كُلُّ كذب يُكتَبُ كَذِبًا إلا ثلاثة: الكذبُ في الصُّلح بين الرجلين. وكذبُ الرجلِ لإمرأته يَعِدُها. وكذِبُ الرجلِ في الحربِ يَتَوَعَّدُ وَيَتَهَدَّدُ.''

2– ''إنما أنتَ رجلٌ، فَخَذِّلْ عنّا. فإنما الحربُ. خُدْعَةٌ.''

3– وقال عليه السلام في حرب الخندق لسعد بن عُبادة وسعد بن مُعاذ. وهما سَيِّدا الحيَّيْنِ. الْخَزْرَجِ والأَوْسِ: ''إيتِيَا بَنِي قُرَيْظَةَ. فإن كانوا على العهد فأَعْلِنَا بذلك. وإن كانوا قد نَقَضُوا ما بيننا فَالْحَنَا لي لَحْنًا أعْرِفه. ولا تَفُتَّا في أَعْضَادِ المسلمين.'' فرجَعَا بِغَدْرِ القومِ فقالا: ''يارسول الله، عَضَلٌ والقَارَةُ.'' قال: فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم للمسلمين: ''أَبْشِروا فإن الأمرَ ماتُحِبُّونَ.''

mentioned would seem to indicate that Goldziher's evidence for his assertion is weak, whether the technical meaning of *ḥadīth* is indeed meant or, as is more likely, simply his 'discussions.'

Therefore, in '*rubamā ṣana'a al-ḥadīth*' (may have invented *ḥadīth*) *ḥadīth* refers to 'conversation' or 'discussion'. See Mubarrad, vol. 3, p. 318.

SECTION 3

AL-LAYTH IBN SA'D AND 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN IBN KHĀLID

Goldziher says,

> "If so much trouble was taken by authority to find theological support for such trivial ritualistic details, how much greater must have been the activity shown by the machinery of government in cases concerned with spreading among the masses traditional authority for political and dynastic interests. The greater part of the traditions invented for these purposes were probably due to official initiative and influence ... Amongst high officials of the Umayyad dynasty there are several who are accounted as *muḥaddithūn*; to name only Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 128) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid (d. 124) [citing: Abū al-Maḥāsin, I, p. 293, 309, cf. P. 325]. Amongst traditions which the *mawlā* Layth b. Sa'd spread on the authority of the latter there are presumably many which were to benefit the prevailing political tendencies, because this 'Abd al-Raḥmān was for years an important official of Umayyad princes. Al-Nasā'ī's strict criticism is lenient towards him, which might not have been the case if al-Nasā'ī had been more closely acquainted with the circumstances."[18]

Goldziher indicates that his theory is based on the statement of Abū al-Maḥāsin. Here, it is worth presenting and discussing this statement. Abū al-Maḥāsin, on the authority of al-Dhahabī, says:

قال ابن معين: ''كان عنده [أي: عند عبد الرحمن بن خالد] عن الزهري كتاب فيه مائتا حديث أو ثلاثمائة حديث، كان الليث يحدث بها عنه.'' وقال النسائي: ''ليس به بأس.''

[18] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 52.

Ibn Ma'īn said, "He ['Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid] used to have a book that contained two or three hundred *ḥadīths* narrated from al-Zuhrī. Al-Layth used to narrate those *ḥadīths* on the authority of 'Abd al-Raḥmān." Al-Nasā'ī said [about 'Abd al-Raḥmān], "There is no harm in him (*Laysa bihi ba's.*)"[19]

It is clear from the previous text that the source of the *ḥadīths* spread by al-Layth was al-Zuhrī, and not 'Abd al-Raḥmān. We have already concluded that al-Zuhrī has been falsely accused of inventing *ḥadīths*; in the previous chapter it was demonstrated that he did not invent *Ḥadīth* material in order to further the interests of the Umayyad government.[20] It is also noteworthy that the text does not indicate whether any of these *ḥadīths* were in the interests of the prevailing political tendencies. In addition, there is no evidence to suggest that the reason 'Abd al-Raḥmān remained an official of the Umayyad dynasty was his role in the dissemination of such *ḥadīths*. In connection with this issue, it is legitimate to query Goldziher's failure to present at least one or two of the *ḥadīths* he refers to in order to support his theory. Since no evidence has been supplied, and furthermore no evidence has been found, Goldziher's assessment remains highly questionable.

'Abd al-Raḥmān was not as important to the Umayyads as Goldziher depicted him to be when he said, "... he was for years an important official of the Umayyad princes." In fact, his time of service did not exceed two years, seven months and five days. During the first two years he was

[19] *Nujūm*, vol. 1, p. 277.

stationed as head of the Police Force in Egypt. He was chosen for this post by the ruler of Egypt, al-Walīd b. Rifā'ah (d. 117/735), who also appointed him as ruler of Egypt before his death. The caliph, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, upheld this appointment. However, 'Abd al-Raḥmān did not last more than seven months and five days in his post, before he was dismissed for weak government by the caliph in 118 AH.[21]

With regard to al-Nasā'ī's lenient criticism of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, which Goldziher alleges was due to his not being closely acquainted with the circumstances in which the latter lived,[22] it must be stressed that not one of the scholars of *al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* had ever rejected the narrations of a specific narrator on the basis of his acceptance of a government post, though it must be admitted that some religious scholars were reluctant to accept government posts. If we go back to the books compiled by such specialist scholars, we do not find a single statement, by even the earliest scholars, which indicates that the acceptance of a government post by the narrators is a reason for the rejection of their narrations. Neither do we find any scholars, early or late, who reject 'Abd al-Raḥmān's narration and indicate his weakness. In addition, al-Nasā'ī is not alone in accepting his narrations: In fact, there are a number of scholars of *al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* who mention him as a reliable authority in narrating *Ḥadīth*. We present here some of their statements:

---

[20] See Section 3 of Chapter 5: 'First: A discussion of his evidence in support of his accusation of Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī.'
[21] *Nujūm*, vol. 1, p. 277.

A. Ibn Abī Ḥātim says, "My father was asked about him and he said that he was a righteous person (*ṣāliḥ*)."[23]

B. Ibn Ḥibbān says, "He was one of the reliable old masters and authentic narrators of Egypt (*min athbāt ahl Miṣr wa qudamā' mashāyikhihā wa mutqinī ahlihā*)."[24]

C. Al-Dāraquṭnī credits him as a reliable authority (*thiqah*).[25]

D. Al-'Ijlī credits him as a reliable authority (*thiqah*).[26]

E. Al-Dhuhalī states that he was a reliable authority (*thabt*).[27]

F. Abū Sa'īd b. Yūnus states that, "He was a reliable authority in the narration of the *Ḥadīth* (*kān thabtan fi al-Ḥadīth*)."[28]

---

[22] Goldziher meant because 'Abd al-Raḥmān had accepted a government post.
[23] Ḥātim, vol. 5, p. 229, no. 1083.
[24] *Mashāhīr*, p. 301, no. 1521.
[25] *Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, p. 166.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] *Kamāl* 2, vol. 17, p. 76, no. 3805.

SECTION 4

SHAHR IBN ḤAWSHAB

Goldziher says:

> "Amongst high officials of the Umayyad dynasty there are several who are accounted as *muḥaddithūn*; to name only Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd al-Ḥadramī (d. 128) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid (d. 124). Amongst traditions which the *mawlā* Layth b. Sa'd spread on the authority of the latter there are presumably many which were to benefit the prevailing political tendencies, because this 'Abd al-Raḥmān was for years an important official of Umayyad princes. Al-Nasā'ī's strict criticism is lenient towards him, which might not have been the case if al-Nasā'ī had been more closely acquainted with the circumstances. This fact is curiously illuminated by an unintentional, and naive, saying of Ibn 'Awn (d. 151) This refers to Shahr b. Ḥawshab (whose date of death is uncertain; either 98 or 112); he was considered unreliable in his communications because he had accepted a government post [citing: In al-Tirmidhī, II, p. 117]. This view is telling evidence that tendentious traditions were smuggled in through official initiative."[29]

He adds in the footnote that

> "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal considers Shahr as not worthy of consideration, al-Tirmidhī, II, p. 16."[30]

He continues:

> "Later the real understanding for this phenomenon was lost and al-Bukhārī declared Shahr to be worthy of credit since nothing bad was known about his character."[31]

In the footnote he says:

---

[29] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 52.
[30] Ibid., footnote no. 5.
[31] Ibid., p. 52.

> "We find Shahr as an authority in innumerable *ḥadīths*," e.g. al-Tirmidhī, I, p. 327, 352; II, pp. 11, 81, 88, 97, 210, 244, 260,267, etc."[32]

He continues:

> "People who were nearer to the conditions of the time could judge things differently, like Ibn 'Awn who lived but a few decades after Shahr and perhaps had proof that theologians in official position were used - or were willing, without outward pressure, because of their interest in the prevailing power - to put into circulation tendentious traditions."[33]

In order to support his assumption that those more contemporary to the narrators necessarily judged them differently to those of later periods, Goldziher cites evidence for a change in the judgement made on Shahr b. Ḥawshab, who, from being considered an unreliable authority, came to be seen as reliable. Before we embark on a discussion of this assumption, we present the text on which Goldziher bases his case:

قال الترمذي: ''قال محمدُ ابن اسماعيل: 'شهر حَسَنُ الْحَدِيث.' وَقَوّى أَمْرَهُ، وقال: 'إنما تكلّمَ فيه ابن عَوْن، ثُمَّ رَوَى عن هلال بن أبي زينب عن شهر ابن حوشب.' انبأنا أبو داود المَصَاحِفِيُّ بَلْخِيُّ اخبرنا النَّضْــرُ بــن شُمَيْل عن ابن عون قال: 'إنَّ شهراً تَرَكُوهُ.' قال أبو داود: 'قال النضر: 'تركوه أيْ طَعَنُوا فيه.' وإنَّمَا طعنوا فيه لأنه وَلِيَ أَمْرَ السُّلْطَان.'''

Al-Tirmidhī says, "Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl [al-Bukhārī] said, 'Shahr was a man of good *Ḥadīth* (*kān ḥasan al-Ḥadīth*),' and [al-Bukhārī] considered his position strong. He then said that, 'Ibn 'Awn was concerned about him (*takallam fīhi Ibn 'Awn*) and then later narrated from Hilāl b. Abī Zaynab on the authority of Shahr b. Ḥawshab.' Abū Dāwūd al-Maṣāḥifī, Balkhī, related from al-Naḍr b. Shumayl that Ibn 'Awn said, '*inna Shahran tarakūhu.*' Abū Dāwūd said that al-

[32] Ibid., footnote no. 6.
[33] Ibid., pp. 52-3.

Naḍr said, '*tarakūhu* (they had left him) means *ṭa'anūfīhi* (they discredited him).' [Abū Dāwūd al-Maṣāḥifī commented], 'They discredited him because he held a government post (*innamā ṭa'anūfīhi li'annahu waliya amra al-sulṭān*).'"[34]

From the previous text the following should be noted:

A. Al-Bukhārī was fully aware of Ibn 'Awn's discrediting of Shahr despite the fact that he accepted his *Ḥadīth*. Perhaps Goldziher did not notice that the individual referred to as Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl is al-Bukhārī himself. Various other scholars who gave credit to Shahr were also aware of Ibn 'Awn's discrediting of Shahr. Such scholars mention that they knew what was said about Shahr in their assessments, for example:

1. Ya'qūb b. Shaybah (d. 262/875) said, "He was a reliable authority, even though some people discredited him."[35]
2. Ya'qūb b. Sufyān (d. 277/890) said, "Despite Ibn 'Awn saying that Shahr was discredited, he still remains a reliable authority."[36]

Thus, when they gave credit to Shahr b. Ḥawshab, al-Bukhārī (d. 256/869) and other scholars were fully aware that some scholars had discredited him, however they chose not to accept their judgement. Therefore, it is difficult to accept Goldziher's saying that, "Later the real understanding for this phenomenon was lost." In fact, contrary to Goldziher's assumption, many scholars continued to brand Shahr

[34] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Ist'dhān wa al-ādāb*, bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 2697.
[35] *Kamāl* 2, vol. 12, p. 578f.; *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, p. 378.
[36] Ibid.

as a weak authority and reject his narrations at the time of al-Bukhārī and afterwards. Here are some of their judgements on Shahr b. Ḥawshab:

1. Mūsā b. Hārūn (d. 224/838) said, "He was a weak authority (*ḍa'īf*)."[37]

2. Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/844) says, "He was a weak authority in *Ḥadīth* (*kān ḍa'īfan fī al-Ḥadīth*)."[38]

3. Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) says, "He was a weak authority in *Ḥadīth* (*kān ḍa'īfan fī al-Ḥadīth*)."[39]

4. Al-Nasā'ī (d. 303/915) says, "Shahr b. Ḥawshab was not that strong in [the narration of] *Ḥadīth* (*Shahr b. Ḥawshab laysa bi-l-qawī*)."[40]

5. Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327/938) says, "His *Ḥadīth* can not be taken as an authoritative source (*lā yuḥtajju bi-ḥadīthihi*)."[41]

6. Ibn 'Adī (d. 365/975) says, "He was not strong in [the narration of] *Ḥadīth*, he was among those whose *Ḥadīth* can not be taken as [coming from] an authoritative source (*laysa bi-l-qawī fī al-Ḥadīth, wa huwa mimman lā yuḥtajj bi-ḥadīthihi*)."[42]

7. Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1063) says, "He was a man of disreputable character (*ṣāqiṭ*)."[43]

8. Al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1065) said, "He was a weak authority (*ḍa'īf*)."[44]

---

[37] *Kamāl* 2, vol. 12, pp. 578f.
[38] Ibn Sa'd, vol. 7, p. 449.
[39] *Ma'ārif*, p. 254. Nasā'ī *Ḍ*, p. 393, no. 294.
[40] Nasā'ī *Ḍ*, p. 393, no. 294.
[41] Ḥātim, vol. 4, p. 382.
[42] Ibn 'Adī, vol. 4, p. 40.
[43] *Muḥalā*, vol. 7, p. 484; vol. 10, p. 83.

B. The statement: "They discredited him because he [Shahr b. Ḥawshab d. 100/718] held a government post (*innamā ṭa'anū fīhi li'annahu waliya amr al-sulṭān*)," was not made by Ibn 'Awn (d. 150/767), as Goldziher maintains, but probably by Abū Dāwūd al-Masāḥifī, who was a later scholar, dying in 238/852. With regards to the text which Goldziher has used, there is a possibility that the author was al-Naḍr b. Shumayl d. 203/818. However, in all other references to al-Naḍr's explanation of *tarakūhu* no mention is made of this,[45] and, furthermore, none of the scholars of *al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* offer this explanation. It is interesting that we do not find any other scholar mentioning that Shahr b. Ḥawshab held a government post, and even if he had held one, we have already demonstrated that the acceptance of a government post is not usually considered one of the reasons for the rejection of a narrator.[46]

C. Ibn 'Awn did not abandon Shahr as an authority because the latter had accepted a government post. All that he said was, "They had left Shahr (*inna Shahran tarakūhu*)." When Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh al-'Anbarī asked Ibn 'Awn about Shahr's

---

[44] *Tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 372.
[45] See:
- (i) 'Uqaylī, vol. 2, p. 191.
- (ii) Ibn 'Adī, vol. 4, p. 37.
- (iii) *Kamāl* 2, vol. 12, p. 578.
- (iv) *Tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 370.
- (v) Basawī, vol. 2, pp. 97-8.
- (vi) Ibn 'Asākir, vol. 23, p. 233.
- (vii) *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, p. 374.
- (viii) *Ma'ārif*, p. 254.

[46] See above, p. 321.

Ḥadīth, he said, "Shu'bah had left Shahr (*inna Shu'bah qad taraka Shahran*)."[47] Therefore, Ibn 'Awn was simply following Shu'bah in his judgement, while Shu'bah himself declares clearly why in fact he had left Shahr. He said, "I met Shahr but I did not consider him to be an authoritative source (*laqad laqītu Shahran fa-lam a'tadda bihi*)."[48] If Shu'bah rejected him because he held a government post, he is unlikely, if he regarded this as sufficient grounds for rejecting his *Ḥadīth*, to have bothered to meet him at all for the purposes of listening to his narrations. This suggests that the reason for his rejection of Shahr's *Ḥadīth* was not his holding of a government post. Thus, it is difficult to accept Goldziher's statement regarding Ibn 'Awn: "Perhaps [he] had proof that theologians in official position were used – or were willing, without outward pressure, because of their interest in the prevailing power – to put into circulation tendentious traditions."

With regard to al-Tirmidhī's acceptance of the *ḥadīths* narrated by Shahr, as indicated by Goldziher;[49] this was because he asked al-Bukhārī about Shahr and the latter told him that he was a reliable authority.[50]

---

[47] Ibn 'Adī, vol. 4, p. 37; *Kamāl* 2, vol. 12, p. 578 f.; *Tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 370. See also 'Uqaylī, vol. 2, p. 191.

[48] *Kamāl* 2, vol. 12, p. 578 ff.; *Tahdhīb*, vol. 4, p. 370.

[49] Goldziher said, "We find Shahr as an authority in innumerable *ḥadīths*, e.g. al-Tirmidhī, I, p. 327, 352; II, pp. 11, 81, 88, 97, 210, 244, 260,267, etc."

[50] Tirmidhī, k. *al-Waṣayā*, bā. no. 5, ḥ. no. 2121:

قال الترمذي: "وَسَأَلْتُ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ إِسْمَعِيلَ عَنْ شَهْرِ بْنِ حَوْشَبٍ فَوَثَّقَهُ، وَقَالَ: 'إِنَّمَا يَتَكَلَّمُ فِيهِ ابْنُ عَوْنٍ ...'"

Al-Tirmidhī said, "I asked Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl [al-Bukhārī] about Shahr b. Ḥawshab and he credited him as being reliable (*fawathaqahu*), he [al-Bukhārī] then said, 'Ibn 'Awn was concerned about him (*innmā yatakalamu fihi* Ibn 'Awn).'"

Though Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal states, "I do not bother with Shahr's *ḥadīths* (*lā ubālī bi-ḥadīhi Shahr*)," as Goldziher states on the basis of al-Tirmidhī's account,[51] it is apparent that this statement from Aḥmad was not final, because he accepted Shahr's *ḥadīths* that were narrated by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām. Al-Tirmidhī himself indicates this,[52] and later Aḥmad accepted his *ḥadīths*; the *ḥadīths* which he narrates on the authority of Shahr in his book ***al-Musnad,*** which amount to 194 altogether,[53] stand as proof of this. In addition to this, it was widely known in scholastic circles that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal gave credit to Shahr, and a number of scholars confirm this:

1. Ḥarb b. Ismā'īl al-Karmānī reports that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said, "How good were his *ḥadīths*! (*mā aḥsan Ḥadīthahu*)" Al-Karmānī continues, "And [Aḥmad] accredited him (*wa waththaqahu*)."[54]

2. Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq, on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, says, "There is no harm in him (*laysa bihi ba's*)."[55]

---

[51] Goldziher said, "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal considers Shahr as not worthy of consideration, al-Tirmidhī, II, p. 16" See vol. 2, p. 52, footnote no. 5.
[52] Al-Tirmidhī, in k. *al-Ist'dhān wa al-ādāb*, bā. no. 9, ḥ. no. 2697, said, "*qāl a Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal: 'lā ba'sa bi-ḥadīhi 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām 'an Shahr b. Ḥawshab.*'"
[53] See *Musnad* 3, *ḥadīh* no.s: 98, 1699, 2175, 2467, 2510, 2915-9, 4987, 5537, 6517, 6832, 6913, 6917, 6964, 6975, 7684, 7890-91, 7895, 7942, 7990-91, 8002, 8108, 8136, 8442, 8454, 8466, 8883, 9153, 9168-9, 9177, 9236, 9715, 9962, 9981, 10073, 10261, 10549, 10984, 11061, 11215, 11305, 11431, 11473, 12815, 15537, 15972, 16173, 16573, 16575, 16685, 16690, 16716, 16918, 17048, 17210, 17211-7, 17299, 17459, 17529, 17530-34, 17536-7, 17615-21, 18942, 18945, 20784, 20860, 20886, 20961, 20991, 20994, 21030, 21217, 21517, 21519, 21526, 21539, 21543, 21546, 21558, 21568, 21573, 21576, 21587, 21597-8, 21601, 21609, 21617, 21628, 21658, 21667, 21670, 21703, 21707, 21720, 21750, 21764, 21772, 21778-9, 21807, 21866, 21923, 22284, 22386, 22389-91, 22399, 22404, 22406, 22409, 22687, 23321, 23371, 24231, 25969, 25979-80, 26010-11, 26036, 26057, 26094, 26139, 26180, 26192, 26206, 26988, 27012, 27014, 27016-8, 27020-5, 27027-9, 27031-2, 27036, 27040-42, 27044-7, 27059-64 & 27066-7.
[54] *Kamāl* 2, vol. 12, p. 578f.; Ḥātim, vol. 4, p. 382; *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, p. 374; 'Asākir, vol. 23, p. 223.

3. Al-Dārimī says, "I was told that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal used to praise Shahr (*balaghanī anna Aḥmad kāna yuthnī 'alā Shahr*)."[56]

In addition, it must be noted that Goldziher, despite his laconic remarks, fails to cite one *ḥadīth* from Shahr which could be described as furthering Umayyad political interests.

[55] *Kamāl* 2, vol. 12, p. 574f.; *Nubalā'*, vol. 4, p. 374.
[56] *Kamāl* 2, vol. 12, p. 578f.

CHAPTER 7

GOLDZIHER AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The Impact Of Goldziher's Opinions On Subsequent Studies

The aim here is to present an overview of the extent of the influence of Goldziher's opinions, rather than to discuss or criticise the opinions themselves; however, a number of issues dealt with in the present chapter have been discussed earlier and various others have been dealt with previously by scholars in this field.

In this chapter, I will compare Goldziher's views and conclusions on the origins of *Ḥadīth* with those of his successors, particularly Guillaume[1] and Juynboll,[2] thereby indicating to what extent they accord with Goldziher's view concerning the subject under discussion and the field of *Ḥādīth* studies in general. We have selected these scholars as representing Goldziher's theories in their respective times; Guillaime in the 1920s and Juynboll in the 1980s, thus providing an example of Goldziher's influence at both the start of the century and in recent times. Each will be discussed in a separate section:

Section 1: Guillaume and Goldziher's theories.

Section 2: Juynboll and Goldziher's theories.

---

[1] ***The Tradition of Islam,*** by Alfred Guillaume, Oxford, 1920.
[2] ***Muslim Tradition,*** by G. H. A. Juynboll, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

SECTION 1

GUILLAUME AND GOLDZIHER'S THEORIES

Goldziher's theory with regard to the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* is based on an assumption of great enmity existing between the Umayyads and the pious scholars. He elaborates this enmity with various statements, all of which portray the readiness of each side to fabricate *Ḥadīth*, either to the detriment of the other party, or to bolster their own cause.

This theory is heavily reflected in Guillaume's study. He devotes a complete chapter to the same issue entitled: 'The Umayyad period.' We are not exaggerating in our saying that what he expresses in this chapter is not more than a reiteration of Goldziher's beliefs. Guillaume might have been expected to refer back to the original sources from which the statements were cited in order to establish their veracity; it would also have helped him to understand Goldziher's statements correctly. However, he is content with reiterating Goldziher's theories while adopting his understanding of many statements and his conclusions. The following are a few examples:

(1) Goldziher says:

> "The Umayyad rulers and their governors – who can hardly be said to have been Islamic minded – were not the people to promote a religious

and social life corresponding to the sunna. These rulers fostered sunnas of a very different nature."[3]

He continues:

> "They were little concerned about the religious life of the population. As true Arabs, they paid little attention to religion either in their own conduct or in that of their subjects. If a man was seen absorbed in devout prayer in a mosque it was a pretty safe assumption that he was not a follower of the Umayyad dynasty but, for example, an 'Alid partisan. 'Umar II who was imbued with pious Medinian ideas and who inaugurated the real era of religion which later flourished under the sponsorship of the 'Abbāsids, had to send emissaries into the various provinces of his empire in order to teach his people how a Muslim, and a Muslim society, should order life."[4]

Guillaume also asserts the impiety of the Umayyads as incontrovertible fact, with the same notable exception:

> "It can hardly be denied that the policy of the Umayyads - always with the exception of the piously brought up 'Umar b. 'Abdu-l-'Azīz - was dictated by considerations of a worldly rather than a religious nature. They had practically no interest in religious law, and no great veneration for the teaching of the prophet."[5]

(2) Goldziher states that pious scholars invented *ḥadīths* in order to disseminate their own teachings:

> "Thus there arise new people to relate sayings ascribed to the Prophet, but some new things also came into being. Anything which appears desirable to pious men was given by them a corroborating support reaching back to the Prophet. This could easily be done in a generation in which the Companions, who were represented as the intermediaries of the Prophet's words, were no longer alive. The fact, that by disseminating these teachings they thought they were working against the godless tendency of the time, quietened the conscience of the pious inventors of traditions, who related their own teachings and those of their immediate teachers back to the authority of the Master who was for all, including even the lax, an undisputable source of law."[6]

---

[3] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 38.
[4] Ibid., pp. 38-9.
[5] Guillaume, p. 41.
[6] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 42-3.

Guillaume, though he does not attempt a psychological analysis of pious in the manner of Goldziher, says the same, namely, that the pious put their teachings in *ḥadīth* form to lend them authority:

> "During a long period of suppression the pious had to endeavour to form the religious life of the community. They had no official position under the government - with few exceptions - and the prophet's position as the seal of the prophets and the revealer of the will of God for all time effectually shut the door to any fresh revelation. Thus those who desired to secure universal recognition of their dogmas must perforce cast them into a form which would be regarded as authoritative by the community. There was only one way of doing this, namely, to throw the teaching it was desired to inculcate into the form of a hadith with an *isnād* reaching back to the prophet."[7]

(3) Goldziher says:

> "Pious people of Sa'īd's kind frowned at the state of affairs under such rule; they decried the tyrannical government, defied it by passive resistance and even showed their dissatisfaction openly, occasionally going so far as to refuse homage. In return they were hated and despised by the ruling circles. It is sufficient to consider the way in which al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf deals with Anas b. Mālik; he rebukes him like a criminal and threatens 'to grind him as millstones would grind and to make him a target for arrows.'[8]

Guillaume is in precise accord with Goldziher here regarding the persecution of the pious and the role of al-Ḥajjāj:

> "As sincere Muslims they risked their lives by refusing to do homage to the Umayyads; and it required the ferocity of the notorious Al Ḥajjāj to compel them to yield even lip service to his masters so deeply were their religious sentiments outraged."[9]

---

[7] Guillaume, p. 52.
[8] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 41.
[9] Guillaume, p. 42.

(4) Goldziher is of the view that fabricated *ḥadīths* in praise of the Prophet's family constituted, by implication, an attack on the Umayyads:

> "Since the pious opponents of the dynasty looked upon the 'Alid pretenders as the chosen saviours of the empire, a large part of these falsifications was dedicated to the praise of the Prophet's family without being a direct attack upon the Umayyads. But nobody could be so simple as not to recognize the negative implications.[10]

Guillaume asserts precisely that they represent a veiled attack on the Umayyads:

> "We may detect covert attacks on the Umayyad dynasty in the numerous hadith which extol the merits of the prophet's family, whose representatives were, of course, the house of Ali."[11]

(5) Goldziher also assumes that the Umayyad government, from its early days, played a significant role in the invention and dissemination of fabricated *Ḥadīth* in order to serve its own purposes and to consolidate its political stance against the opposition parties. He says:

> "This must not lead us to believe that during this period theologians in opposition were alone at work on the tradition. The ruling power itself was not idle. If it wished an opinion to be generally recognized and the opposition of pious circles silenced, it too had to know how to discover a *ḥadīth* to suit its purpose. They had to do what their opponents did: invent, or have invented, *ḥadīths* in their turn. And that is in effect what they did. A number of facts are available to show that the impetus to these inventions and falsifications often came from the highest government circles; and if it is realized that even among the most pious of theologians there were willing tools to further their invention, it is not surprising that, among the hotly debated controversial issues of Islam, whether political or doctrinal, there is none in which the champions of the various views are unable to cite a number of traditions, all equipped with imposing *isnāds*."[12]

He continues:

[10] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 43.
[11] Guillaume, p. 44.
[12] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 43-4.

> "Official influence on the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions started very early. An instruction given to his obedient governor al-Mughīrah by Mu'āwiyah I is in the spirit of the Umayyads: 'Do not tire of abusing and insulting 'Alī and calling for God's mercifulness for 'Uthmān, defaming the companions of 'Alī, removing them and omitting to listen to them (i.e. to what they tell and propagate as *ḥadīths*); praising, in contrast, the clan of 'Uthmān, drawing them near to you and listening to them' [citing: al-Ṭabarī, II, p. 112]. This is an official encouragement to foster the rise and spread of *ḥadīths* directed against 'Alī and to hold back and suppress *ḥadīths* favouring 'Alī."[13]

He also states:

> "When the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Mālik wished to stop the Pilgrimage to Mecca because he was worried lest his rival 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr should force the Syrians journeying to the holy places in Ḥijāz to pay him homage, he had recourse to the expedient of the doctrine of the vicarious *ḥajj* to the Qubbat al-ṣakhra in Jerusalem. He decreed that the obligatory circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) could take place at the sacred place in Jerusalem with the same validity as that around the Ka'ba ordained in Islamic Law. The pious theologian al-Zuhrī was given the task of justifying this politically motivated reform of religious life by making up and spreading a saying traced back to the Prophet, according to which there are three mosques to which people may make pilgrimages: those in Mecca, Madina and Jerusalem." [14]

In the footnote, he says:

> "The tradition in respect of the three mosques, Abū Dāwūd, I, p. 202: *'an al-Zuhrī 'an Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib 'an AbīHurayra 'an al-nabī*; cf. B. *Jumu'a* no. 26; al-Tirmidhī, I, p. 67."[15]

Guillaume paraphrases Goldziher's assertions regarding the readiness of each side to fabricate *Ḥadīth*; either to the detriment of the other party, or to bolster their own cause. He uses exactly the same evidence in support, namely that a *ḥadīth* was invented by al-Zuhrī that sanctified the pilgrimage to Jerusalem as a valid *ḥajj* out of political expediency, and other evidence cited from al-Ṭabarī:

---

[13] Ibid., p. 44.

"The reigning house could not afford to leave their opponents with the sole right of collecting and promulgating hadith: in fact, Ṭabarī states that Mu'āwiya I ordered that all hadith favourable to the house of 'Ali should be suppressed, and the glories of the family of 'Uthmān be extolled in hadith. The Umayyad hand is perhaps most clearly seen in the traditions which were forged to emphasize the sanctity of Jerusalem vis-a-vis Mecca and Medina. While his rival 'Abd Allāh b. Zubair was in possession of the holy places, and could bring pressure to bear upon the pilgrims who resorted thither, and seduce them from their allegiance to the northern house, the problem which confronted 'Abdu-l-Malik in Syria was not unlike that of Jeroboam the son of Nebat in those regions; nor was his countermove issimilar. Whereras Jeroboam provided within his own territory sanctuaries for the veneration of his subjects, 'Abdu-l-Malik hit upon the expedient of enjoining a pilgrimage to the mosque he built in Jerusalem instead of the orthodox journey to Mecca and Medina. All that was necessary was to declare that a circumambulation of the holy place at Jerusalem possessed the same validity as that enjoined at Mecca and to procure for his assertion a confirmatory hadith with an *isnād* going back to the prophet himself. 'Journey only to three mosques, Al Masjidu-l-Ḥarām, the mosque of the Prophet, and the mosque of Jerusalem,' is the form this tendentious hadith takes in Al Bukhārī. The inventor is Al Zuhrī, who fathers it on Abū Huraira."[16]

(6) Goldziher says:

"The Umayyads and their political followers had no scruples in promoting tendentious lies in a sacred religious form, and they were only concerned to find pious authorities who would be prepared to cover such falsifications with their undoubted authority."[17]

Elsewhere, he refers to:

"How the Umayyads made it their business to put into circulation *ḥadīths* which seemed to them desirable, and how people of the type of the pious al-Zuhrī acquiesced in being their tools."[18]

He continues:

"The Ma'mar just mentioned preserved a characteristic saying by al-Zuhrī: 'These emirs forced people to write *ḥadīths* (*akrahanā 'alayhi*

---

[14] Ibid., pp. 44-5.
[15] Ibid., p. 45, footnote no. 7.
[16] Guillaume, pp. 47-8. Hitti follows the same line and accepts the view that the aim was to divert the pilgrimage from Makkah to Jerusalem. See above, Chapter 5, footnote no. 14.
[17] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 44.
[18] Ibid., p. 46.

> *hā'ulā'i'l-umarā'*)'. This account can only be understood on the assumption of al-Zuhrī's willingness to lend his name, which was in general esteemed by the Muslim community, to the government's wishes."[19]

Guillaume again cites the same argument supported with the same evidence as cited by Goldziher:

> "If any external proof were needed of the forgery of tradition in the Umayyad period, it may be found in the express statement of Al Zuhrī: 'These princes have compelled us to write hadith.' Undoubtedly the hadith exalting the merit of the pilgrimage to the qubbatu-l-Sakhra at Jerusalerm is a survival of the traditions Al Zuhrī composed."[20]

We might mention in passing that James Robson[21] follows roughly the same line as his predecessors and tends to accept this view without verifying their claims. He says:

> "There can be no doubt that such traditions have been fabricated to support particular points of view. Al-Zuhrī is said to have accused the Umayyads of compelling people to forge traditions, a statement which may possibly be quite true."[22]

Due to his familiarity with the Arabic sources, Robson might have been expected to refer to the original source from which this statement is cited. However, he is content with quoting his predecessor, Guillaume, adopting his comprehension of such a statement, and is moreover inclined to accept its genuineness. In consulting the original sources, one discovers that there is no connection whatsoever between the statement of al-Zuhrī and the forgery of *ḥadiths*, as has been shown above (see Chapter 5, pp. 295-96).

[19] Ibid., p. 47.
[20] Guillaume, p. 50.
[21] For an extensive criticism of Robson's studies see "Ḥadīth and Its Principles in the Early Days of Islam, A Critical Study of a Western Approach," by Beyanouni.

Another area where Robson has reiterated the claims of his predecessors without verifying them is the association of many *ḥadīths*, particularly those that represent the Prophet as performing miracles, with the influence that Biblical stories had on some Muslims, and the specification of certain Biblical statements as a source of others, on the grounds that these *ḥadīths* express something to the same or similar effect to what is in the Bible. He states:

> "While it is important to be careful about ascribing to New Testament sources everything that is reminiscent of the New Testament, there is no question that many traditions have no other sources."[23]

He continues:

> "It should be added that Tradition is also in debt to the Old Testament. Indeed, Goldziher has pointed out that not only the Old Testament, but anything which seemed worth while was turned in to tradition."[24]

It is noteworthy that Goldziher makes a long excursus under the heading: 'The Ḥadīth and the New Testament.'[25] Guillaume also devoted a complete chapter to the same issue under the title of '*Borrowing from Christian documents and tradition.*'[26]

---

[22] "The Material of Tradition II," p. 267f, *MW* 41, 1951.
[23] Ibid., p. 261.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Goldziher 2, vol. 2, pp. 346-62; cf. P. 149.
[26] Guillaume, pp. 132-49.

This influence also accounts for the justification put forward by Robson concerning the invention of accounts that represent the Prophet as a miracle-maker. He says:

> "It may be that stories of this kind developed as a result of contact with Christians, and out of desire to show that Muhammad was not inferior to Jesus in the performance of miracles."[27]

This is almost the same idea as that suggested by Goldziher, who says:

> "An unconscious tendency prevailed to draw a picture of Muhammed that should not be inferior to the Christian picture of Jesus."[28]

The only difference between Robson and his predecessors is that when he deals with this issue, he expresses his uncertainty by qualifying his opinion, using the words: "may be," while his predecessors were more confident in their decisions.

(7) Goldziher is of the opinion that it was the ruling elite that were chiefly responsible for fabrication:

> "The greater part of the traditions invented for these purposes were probably due to official initiative and influence. It is expressly reported of the great general al-Muhallab, the scourge of the Khārijite dissenters (d. 83), that he was concerned with falsifying traditions to encourage his soldiers against these mutineers. Amongst high officials of the Umayyad dynasty there are several who are accounted as *muḥaddithūn*; to name only Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 128) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid (d. 124). Amongst traditions which the *mawlā* Layth b. Sa'd spread on the authority of the latter there are presumably many which were to benefit the prevailing political tendencies, because this 'Abd al-Raḥmān was for years an important official of Umayyad princes. Al-Nasā'ī's strict criticism is lenient towards him, which might not have been the case if al-Nasā'ī had been more closely acquainted with the circumstances. This fact is curiously illuminated by an unintentional, and naive, saying of Ibn 'Awn (d. 151). This refers to Shahr b. Ḥawshab (whose date of death is uncertain; either 98 or 112); he was considered unreliable in his communications because he had accepted a government post. This view is telling evidence that

[27] "The Material of Tradition I," p. 174, *MW* 41, 1951.
[28] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 346; cf. Guillaume, p. 135f.

> tendentious traditions were smuggled in through official initiative. Later the real understanding for this phenomenon was lost and al-Bukhārī declared Shahr to be worthy of credit since nothing bad was known about his character. People who were nearer to the conditions of the time could judge things differently, like Ibn 'Awn who lived but a few decades after Shahr and perhaps had proof that theologians in official position were used - or were willing, without outward pressure, because of their interest in the prevailing power - to put into circulation tendentious traditions."[29]

Guillaume echoes Goldziher's opinion that so tendentious was the Umayyad regime, that the holding of a government post itself was cause for extreme suspicion, and again cites the same evidence as his forerunner:

> "Ibn 'Aun, who died in the middle of the second century, refuses to credit traditions resting on the authority of Shahr b. Haushab because he had held office under the government. It is difficult to imagine a more telling accusation. Al Bukhārī a century later feels no compunction in including traditions in Shahr's name in the category of 'genuine', presumably because he knew little or nothing about the circumstances of the time in which Shahr lived, nor the pressure that was brought to bear upon him. And it is to be remembered that Shahr is by no means the only Muḥaddith whose name appears both in the canonical collections of tradition and in the roll of Umayyad state officials."[30]

(8) Goldziher believes that the Umayyads endeavoured to achieve an effect at least outwardly corresponding to their position as rulers. Therefore, the first Umayyads introduced various alterations in the ceremony of the *khuṭbah* and its staging in such a way as to divest it of its ancient democratic character.[31] He says:

"For prestige reasons the caliph was now to give one *khuṭba* seated. That this meant a change of the rite of the *khuṭba* is often confirmed by the historians. But this seems to have aroused the disapproval of pious people faithful to the sunna and an official theologian had to be found in order to instruct them: Rajā' b. Ḥaywah (d. II2), otherwise praised as a pious authority, who was considered a sort of adviser in matters of conscience in the court of several Umayyad rulers, asserted that one of the

[29] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 52-3.
[30] Guillaume, p. 50.
[31] See Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 50.

old caliphs, 'Uthmān, upon whom the legitimacy of the dynasty was, as is well known, founded, also used to stand during the first *khuṭba* but delivered the second seated. These circles said even of 'Alī that he delivered the *khuṭba* seated. It is, however, interesting to observe that the significance of this account was already obliterated by the third century, when the victory of the sunna had rendered the stoutly independent attitude of the old Arab rulers no longer comprehensible, and that even al-Jāḥiẓ is only capable of giving a very naive explanation [citing: *Bayān*, fol. 20a, [i, 118]: *yurīdu biqawlihi qā'idan khuṭbat al-nikāḥ*; here it is related on the authority of al-Haytham b. 'Adī that the *khuṭba* was never given seated]. How far reaching were the falsifications inspired by the Umayyads in the interests of the privileges claimed by them is evident from the fact that they not only cited 'Uthmān, but even the Prophet as their examples, and that opponents of these falsifications make Jābir b. Samura, a Companion of the Prophet, conclude his description with the words: 'He who tells you that the Prophet delivered the *khuṭba* sitting is a liar."[32]

Guillaume, like Goldziher, discussed the example of the permissibility of sitting down during the *khuṭbah* and ascribed the contents of later writings on the matter to historical ignorance:

> "It has been recorded as a heinous offence that the Caliph Mu'āwiya sat down to pronounce the *Khuṭba* (solemn oration); yet this posture while giving public direction was common in the pre-Muhammadan era (*jahiliyya*), and Muhammad is said in the canonical traditions to have sat down in the pulpit (*minbar*) while addressing the faithful. It is undoubtedly due to later writers' ignorance of the practice of antiquity that they explain the references to 'Uthmān sitting in the *minbar* during the *Khuṭba* to betrothals (*khuṭbatu-l-nikāḥ*).[33]

(9) In addition to the above Goldziher believes that theologians in official positions were used, or were willing, without external pressure because of their support for the prevailing power, to put into circulation fabricated traditions. He says:

> "People who were nearer to the conditions of the time could judge things differently, like Ibn 'Awn who lived but a few decades after Shahr and perhaps had proof that theologians in official position were used - or were willing, without outward pressure, because of their interest in the prevailing power - to put into circulation tendentious traditions."[34]

---

[32] Ibid., pp. 51-2.
[33] Guillaume, p. 38.
[34] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 52-3.

And he also says:

> "Pious sayings were meant to break down the resistance of the pious and to disarm them."[35]

Guillaume makes the same assertion that is found at the core of Goldziher's argument, namely that the pious were responsible for fabricating *ḥadīths* out of political expediency:

> "These were the men who by lending themselves to the government as instruments in the promulgation of hadith favourable to the powers that be did so much to keep down the rising tide of disaffection."[36]

[35] Ibid., p. 49.
[36] Guillaume, p. 45.

SECTION 2

JUYNBOLL AND GOLDZIHER'S THEORIES

Like other modern Western writers on the subject of *Ḥadīth*, Juynboll[37] demonstrates that he has been influenced considerably by his predecessors, namely Goldziher and Schacht, despite the fact that in the introduction to his book, ***Muslim Tradition***, Juynboll declares that, in formulating his ideas regarding the origins of *Ḥadīth*, he has not exposed himself to the influences of his predecessors, and has done his research, as he says: "without constantly comparing my findings with those of either Oriental or Western scholars until after it was all over."[38] This influence can be seen in his consideration of a number of matters; the following are a few examples:

(1) Goldziher's broad conception of the transmission of *Ḥadīth* is as follows:

> "The Prophet's pious followers have reverently repeated the enlightening sayings of the master and have endeavoured to preserve for the edification and instruction of the community everything that he said, both in public and in private, regarding the practice of the religious obligations prescribed by him, the conduct of life in general, and social behaviour, whether in relation to the past or the future. When the rapid succession of conquests led them to distant countries, they handed on these ḥadīths of the Prophet to those who had not heard them with their own ears, and after his death they added many salutary sayings which were thought to be in accord with his sentiments and could therefore, in their view, legitimately be ascribed to him, or of whose soundness they were in general convinced. These ḥadīths dealt with the religious and legal practices which had been developed under the Prophet and were regarded as setting the norm for the whole Islamic world. They formed the basic

[37] For an extensive criticism of G. H. A. Juynboll's theories see "The Origins of Ḥadīth: A Critical Appraisal of a Western Approach to the Subject," by JarAllah.

[38] Juynboll, p. 1.

material of the ḥadīth, which vastly increased during subsequent generations because of factors which will be described in the following chapters.

In the absence of authentic evidence it would indeed be rash to attempt to express the most tentative opinion as to which parts of the ḥadīth are the oldest original material, or even as to which of them date back to the generations immediately following the Prophet's death. Closer acquaintance with the vast stock of ḥadīths induces sceptical caution rather than optimistic trust regarding the material brought together in the carefully compiled collections. We are unlikely to have even as much confidence as Dozy regarding a large part of the ḥadīth, but will probably consider by far the greater part of it as the result of the religious, historical and social development of Islam during the first two centuries.

The ḥadīth will not serve as a document for the history of the infancy of Islam, but rather as a reflection of the tendencies which appeared in the community during the maturer stages of its development."[39]

Juynboll, like Goldziher, considers *Ḥadīth* transmission in general to be a result of the activity of various social and historical elements which led to what was to become the *Ḥadīth* literature. He says:

> "This study does not deny that in all probability the prophet's statements and/or activities may have, at least partially, been reported by one or more of his followers, but it may have become apparent from the foregoing pages that I am sceptical as to whether we will ever be able to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that what we have in the way of 'sound prophetic traditions' is indeed just that what it purports to be."[40]

He adds:

> "We have seen that the need for traditions traced all the way back to Muḥammad only began to be emphasized under 'Umar II (reigned 99-101/717-20) and that only as a consequence of this emphasis what was known as reports containing the personal opinions of Companions or Successors became 'raised to the level' of a prophetic saying, no doubt in order to lend them more prestige. It is therefore impossible to dismiss the assumption that any 'prophetic' tradition from a canonical collection may

[39] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 18-9.
[40] Juynboll, p. 71.

> have started life as the personal opinion of a Companion or a later authority..."[41]

'The earliest stages of *ḥadīth* transmission,' as conceived by Juynboll are described thus:

> "During the prophet's lifetime most of his followers can be assumed to have talked about him. After his death the only people who continued to do so in a way that may be construed as foreshadowing the standardized and regulated *ḥadīth* transmission of, say, the last few decades of the first century/7^{00s}-7^{20s}, when, as was perhaps demonstrated above, the earliest *ḥadīths* provided with *isnāds* came into circulation, were the *quṣṣāṣ*.
>
> Parallel with this phenomenon we find *fuqahā'* and also *'ulamā'*, the former formulating their own ideas about how life should be approached in the light of the new religion, the latter mainly pointing to formulations of this sort arrived at by others."[42]

He goes on,

> "The activities of *fuqahā'* and *'ulamā'* also developed into what later came to be called *ḥadīth* transmission."[43]

(2) It can not be coincidence that the two *mutawātir ḥadīths* - the *niyāḥah ḥadīth* and the *man kadhaba ḥadīth* - that are cited by Juynboll in support of his assertion that *tawātur* itself, "... is no guarantee for the historicity of a *ḥadīth*'s ascription to the prophet," were the same two that Goldziher points to as alleged forgeries that were fabricated in Iraq.[44]

---

[41] Ibid., p. 72.
[42] Ibid., p. 74.
[43] Ibid., p. 74.
[44] For the *niyāḥah ḥadīth* see: Goldziher, vol. 1, p. 229 and for the *man kadhaba ḥadīth* see p. 127; see also Juynboll, p. 96f.

(3) The work of the *quṣṣāṣ*, consisting of a combination of *faḍā'il wa mathālib* and *tarhīb wa targhīb* is considered to constitute the material preceding the transmission of *Ḥadīth* by Juynboll:

> "The *awā'il* evidence collected here converges, I think, on one conclusion, that is that the earliest origins of standardized *ḥadīth* cannot be traced back earlier than, at most, to the seventies or eighties of the first century. What had preceded this was, as we have seen above, still unstructured and still unstandardized material of edifying contents (*quṣṣāṣ, tarhīb wa-targhīb*) or with a political slant (*faḍā'il/mathālib*)."[45]

Ḥalāl wa ḥarām is thought to have been dealt with some time later:

> "The likelihood that these *qiṣaṣ* will have comprised also the genre of *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām* is slight in view of the fact that legal thinking on the basis of individual judgement as well as precedent in Islam is a development of somewhat later times, as I shall try to show below."[46]

Goldziher had reached very much the same conclusion before Juynboll, as is evident from his description of the circumstances that prevailed under the Abbāsids:

> "The public recognition and stimulation of conduct corresponding to the sunna both in private life and in public administration and law was naturally accompanied by a freer development of the study of the traditions of the Prophet than was possible under the Umayyads. At that period such research was, so to speak, only in a latent state and was hardly in touch with everyday life. Only now was there an investigation on a large scale of the *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām*, the allowed and forbidden, of the ritual and legal ordinances. An attempt was made to produce documents carrying the Prophet's signature for all the details of the relations of religious and social life. Previously this had not been done to such an extent. Considering that Mālik b. Anas in the middle of the second century was able to produce only 600 sayings of the Prophet relating to legal life, it becomes evident how little was done in this direction under the Umayyads. It seems that the activities of the party of the pious were mainly concerned with the cultivation and production of moral and ascetic teachings as well as those sayings which stood in some relation to the political situation, their views about it, and their hope for a speedy overthrow of the existing godless circumstances. At least it appears as if

[45] Juynboll, p. 23.
[46] Ibid., p. 12.

> sayings of this kind, more than legal traditions, were the ones to have penetrated to wider circles of the people."[47]

(4) Goldziher states unequivocally that few reservations were held about the extension of the chain of transmission of a tradition, which in reality originated from a Companion or Successor, back to the Prophet himself:

> "A phenomenon particularly worthy of notice shows how light-heartedly moral sayings which were not his were ascribed to Prophet. It is not at all rare in the literature of traditions that sayings are ascribed to the Prophet which for a long time circulated in Islam under the authority of another name. So-called *aḥādīth mawqūfa*, i.e. sayings traced back to companions or even successors, were very easily transformed into *aḥādīth marfū'a*, i.e. sayings traced back to the Prophet, by simply adding without much scruple a few names at random which were necessary to complete the chain. This was also often practised in the field of legal traditions."[48]

Likewise, Juynboll holds that the *Ḥadīth* originated in the opinions and sayings of the early *fuqahā'* and *'ulamā'* which were then raised to the level of Prophetic sayings:

> "*ḥalāl wa-ḥarām*, if any, must have been extremely limited in scope and were mainly the products of individual judgement on the part of the first legal minds Islam produced; later these juridical opinions seem to have been remoulded into *ḥadīths* going back to the prophet."[49]

He adds:

> "... it is more than likely that the bulk of traditions in the transmission of which these early *fuqahā'* were supposedly instrumental started life as legal opinions of these *fuqahā'* themselves who merely expressed their own personal judgement. These opinions or legal advices were in the course of time 'raised to the level' (in Arabic: *marfū'*) of prophetic sayings, when the emphasis on the concept *sunnat an-nabī* had eclipsed *sunan* of Companions and Successors."[50]

---

[47] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 76-7. See, for Goldziher's view on the *quṣṣāṣ* and their material, p. 151f.
[48] Ibid., p. 148.
[49] Juynboll, p. 17.
[50] Ibid., p. 42.

We might mention in passing that Schacht goes further and asserts that in fact traditions from the Successors were the 'starting point', and that later these were projected back to the Companions then to the Prophet:

> "In the course of polemical discussion, doctrines are frequently projected back to higher authorities: traditions from Successors become traditions from Companions, and traditions from Companions become traditions from the Prophet. Whenever we find, as frequently happens, alleged opinions of Successors, alleged decisions of the Companions, and alleged traditions from the Prophet side by side, we must, as a rule and until the contrary is proved, consider the opinions of the Successors as the starting-point, and the traditions from the Companions and from the Prophet as secondary developments, intended to provide a higher authority for the doctrine in question. When the opinion of a Successor coincides with a tradition, it would be unwarrantable to conclude, in the absence of an explicit reference or some other positive indication, that he knew and followed it."[51]

In summation of his stance with regards to legal maxims he says:

> "... as a rule they are earlier than traditions, and they gradually take on the form of traditions. They date, generally speaking, from the time of the first primitive systematization of Muhammadan law in the first half of the second century A.H., but often represent a secondary stage of doctrine and practice."[52]

He goes on:

> "The legal maxims reflect a stage when legal doctrine was not yet automatically put into the form of traditions."[53] "I do not exclude the possibility that some legal maxims may be older than the second century A.H., or may even go back to the pre-Islamic period, but this cannot be assumed but must be positively proved in each case ..."[54]

(5) Goldziher states:

---

[51] Schacht, pp. 156-7.
[52] Ibid., p. 188.
[53] Ibid., p. 189.
[54] Ibid., p. 189, footnote no. 1.

> "The rise of the 'Abbāsid dynasty is thus the time when the movement to establish the sunna as a science and as the standard of life received official recognition."[55]

However, the Umayyad caliph, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, is ascribed with the role of being the first to give official recognition to the *sunnah*:

> "The rule of 'Umar II, who had imbibed the spirit of the sunna in Medina, is but a short episode in the religious history of the dynasty to which he belonged. He might be called the Hezekiah of the Umayyad house. He attempted to give practical effect to the quiet work of theologians of the first century. The catchword sunna attained official importance during his rule and he endeavoured to give it recognition in the outlying provinces of the empire."[56]

He gives great emphasis to the pious nature of 'Umar II and his zeal for the *sunnah*, refering to:

> "'Umar, who was always zealous to establish the sunna in all matters ..."[57] and "'Umar II who was imbued with pious Medinian ideas and who inaugurated the real era of religion which later flourished under the sponsorship of the 'Abbāsids ..."[58]

Juynboll also grants the same status to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as that given by Goldziher, describing him as:

> "The first man to apply himself to the concept *sunnat an-nabī* more than to *sunans* ascribed to other persons or localities ..."[59]

And refering to:

> "The *sunna* of the prophet, a concept emphasized for the first time by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz rather than by the prophet himself or his immediate followers ..."[60]

and also saying:

---

[55] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 75.
[56] Ibid., p. 43.
[57] Ibid., p. 29.
[58] Ibid., p. 39.
[59] Juynboll, p. 34.
[60] Ibid., p. 26.

"As mentioned above, 'Umar II, more than any ruler before him, was determined on granting the *sunna* of the prophet a position as guiding principle in importance only second to the Qur'ān."[61]

(6) Goldziher's idea that criticism of the *isnād* is applied to the *isnād* but not to the *matn* and his view on the chronology of the criticism is adopted more or less without alteration by Juynboll. Goldziher states that:

"Less attention is paid to the contents of the tradition itself than to the authorities in the *isnād*. Belief in the authenticity of a ḥadīth stands or falls with their reliability;"[62] and, "traditions are only investigated in respect of their outward form and judgement of the value of the contents depends on the judgement of the correctness of the *isnād*."[63] Also, "Nobody is allowed to say: 'because the *matn* contains a logical or historical absurdity I doubt the correctness of the *isnād*.'"[64]

And regarding the chronology of the criticism of the *isnād*, he says:

"It seems to have been in the time of Ibn 'Awn (d. 151), Shu'ba (d. 160), 'Abd Allah b. Mubārak (d. 181) and others of their contemporaries that criticism of the authorities begins."[65]

Juynboll, addressing this issue, states:

"Scrutiny of informants gave way to the creation of the institution of the *isnād* probably at the earliest in the late seventies of the first century (the late 690s). The *isnād*, if found 'sound', was thought to guarantee the authenticity of the *matn* it supported. This scrutiny of *isnāds* resulted in an increasingly sophisticated criticism which developed in the course of time into a separate science, whose birth can be dated to at least half a century after the birth of the *isnād*.

But *ḥadīth* criticism, mainly confined to *isnād* criticism, came too late to become an adequate tool for sifting the material that could genuinely be ascribed to the oldest authority of its *isnād* from that which could not thus be ascribed. And apart from its having come too late to the rescue of the developing *ḥadīth* literature, it suffered from two serious, interrelated shortcomings both pointing to its naïveté:

(1) *Isnād* ...

---

[61] Ibid., p. 35.
[62] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 134.
[63] Ibid., p. 140.
[64] Ibid., p. 141.
[65] Ibid., p. 135.

(2) the near-absence of the application of suitable criteria for probing *matns*."[66]

(7) Prior to the commencement of *ṭalab al-'ilm, Ḥadīth* developed in each administrative center independent of the others, according to Juynboll, then later their geographically specific character disappeared. He states:

> "It is hoped to demonstrate that during the last two or three decades of the first century of the Hijra/the 7[00]-7[20] A.D. the interest for *ḥadīth* slowly increased in the separate administrative centres of the Islamic empire.
>
> It is on purpose that these centres are referred to as 'separate'. One overall characteristic of *ḥadīth* evolution in its earliest stages deserves to be emphasized before anything else. In the beginning there was little or no contact between the centres especially if they were far apart. In other words, in each centre there circulated different *ḥadīths*."[67]

He continues:

> "The proliferation, collection and codification of *ḥadīths* in the different centres occurred, at least during the first century, largely on a local scale. Until the middle of the first half of the second century (about 740) the centres were characterized by - among various other individual features - an overall regionalism which, only with the onset of *ṭalab al-'ilm* journeys, gradually disappeared."[68]

Goldziher also asserts that *Ḥadīth* developed independently in various places, and pinpoints the commencement of *ṭalab al-'ilm* while proposing that the local aspect of early *Ḥadīth* was eroded by this phenomenon:

> "In the beginning of its development the ḥadīth had local character. It had its origin in Medina and from there was carried to all provinces of Islam. On the other hand there is a large part of it which developed independently in the provinces. The pious in all lands circulated sayings of the Prophet, partly such as were current as prophetic teachings at the cradle of the sunna and partly such as only developed in the provinces in support for some doctrine which grew up in particular circles there. The

---

[66] Juynboll, p. 75.
[67] Ibid., p. 39.
[68] Ibid., pp. 75-6.

> Muslim critics themselves point out the local character of many ḥadīth. If theologians of a particular province wished to fill the gaps in the tradition of their home, they had no other recourse but travel to gain the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the ḥadīths of other provinces."[69]

He also says:

> "These journeys also yielded important results for the practical development of the ḥadith in Islam. Because of the ever increasing amount of journeys for the *ṭalab*, theologians succeeded in inserting the particular provincial traditions into the general, more and more uniform, framework of the ḥadith."[70]

With regards to the commencement of *ṭalab al-'ilm*, Goldziher cites a story from a zealous man named Makḥūl, who died in 112, regarding his extensive travels in several countries in search of an authentic statement on the *nafl* of the distribution of war booty. He then concludes that, "These are the beginnings of the travels *fī ṭalab al-'ilm....*"[71] He thus indicates that these journeys commenced towards the end of the 1st Century AH, as is argued by Juynboll. Further, he considers this story to, "... give some idea of the extent of such journeys of enquiry during the first century."[72]

(8) Goldziher identifies the phenomenon of the fabrication of *Ḥādith* by various parties that adopted the guise of Companions in later ages. He says:

> "Yet another sort of imposter must be mentioned in this context. This will show that Joseph Balsamo had predecessors some centuries before him in Asia. We are referring to the *mu'ammarūn*, the long-lived ones. They belong to the chapter of the inner history of the ḥadīth, for the

---

[69] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 164.
[70] Ibid., p. 166.
[71] Ibid., p. 42.
[72] Ibid.

> adventurers called *mu'ammarūn* recited traditions from direct contact with the Prophet. In this they had an easier task than other inventors of ḥadiths, who also had to invent an *isnād* which brought their saying into contact with the Prophet. The 'long-lived ones' pretended to be 'companions of the Prophet' and therefore had no need to devise connecting chains between their information and Muhammed's communication. Thus they escaped fault-finding criticism if they were fortunate in obtaining credence for their claim of having had personal contact with the Prophet. We shall see that they often succeeded in finding gullible audiences for their swindle."[73]

Juynboll, in turn, asserts that the majority of transmitters, dying at such advanced ages, practiced the same deception, only, this time, with regard to most of the Successors:

> "The vast majority of transmitters, dying at such advanced ages, may have pretended to be much older than they were in reality in order to establish at least the probability that they could have met certain masters. In so doing, they were able to claim the coveted status of Successor rather than that of Successor of a Successor.
>
> It is my conviction that by means of this age trick a large number of Successors under the traditionists undeservedly enjoyed the privileges that went with this status."[74]

[73] Ibid., p. 159-60.
[74] Juynboll 2, p. 170.

CONCLUSION

The preceding study, based upon on analysis and detailed study of the evidence, has shown that among that which Goldziher cites as testimony and which is the subject of this research, there is not a single piece of evidence to support his hypotheses of:

1. The involvement of the Companions of the Prophet in fabricating *Ḥadīth* and attributing them to him.
2. The existence of disputes between the Umayyads and the pious scholars.
3. The involvement of the Umayyads in the falsification of *Ḥadīth*, or in the exploitation of certain pious scholars in order to justify what they sought to do, including the opposing of certain other pious scholars.
4. The involvement of Umayyad sponsored theologians or leaders in the fabricating of *Ḥadīth* to the benefit of the Umayyads or their governments.
5. The involvement of pious scholars in the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* in general and against the Umayyads in particular.

Hence, all of the people who are the subject of Goldziher's accusations are in fact innocent of those accusations.

This study also shows that no clear and succinct expression exists concerning the Umayyad era that demonstrates that a certain scholar or governor indeed

fabricated a *ḥadīth*. It shows that no clear statement from a pious scholar exists to the effect that the Umayyads fabricated a *ḥadīth*.[1] We also do not find a single statement from an Umayyad ruler accusing a pious scholar of fabricating a *ḥadīth*. What we have from Goldziher are insubstantial conclusions drawn from a number of texts which are used by him in support of his hypotheses. Goldziher uses an authoritative tone and a self-consistent but largely erroneous interpretation of selected material to lend credence to his sweeping claims and theories.

It is strange that Goldziher only accused a limited number of pious scholars of the fabrication of *Ḥadīth*, and neglected to discuss the position of tens of other famous pious scholars, some of whom worked under Umayyad rule. We find for instance that al-Ya'qūbī, one of the most important of Goldziher's sources, at the end of his discussion of each Umayyad ruler, provides us with the names of the most famous scholars of his time, a source which Goldziher could readily have drawn upon.

Indeed, if we were to suppose that there did exist a ruler or pious scholar who was embroiled in the fabrication of a *ḥadīth* or *aḥādīth*, then according to the academic methodology this could not be considered as a valid basis on which to draw conclusions regarding society at that time.

[1] If any of them had been able to fabricate *ḥadīth*, the 'Abbāsid caliph would have done so in the matter of the creation of the Qur'ān and he would not have been forced into despotism while he had an army of scholars and judges, and the theologians and the ranks of the Mu'tazila. Al-A'ẓamī says, "As an example, I cite the case of Ibn Ḥanbal and his clash with the dogma and creeds of the Caliph and Mu'tazilah sect. He asked the Caliph to bring forward a single *ḥadīth* of the Prophet that supported the official view. But the Caliph with all his power and an army of learned scholars was

In our opinion, and as proven in our study, Goldziher provides us with nothing but erroneous opinions and conclusions. He strives to employ and emphasise certain actions of the Umayyads – which were not approved of by certain scholars – and the opinions and actions of certain scholars towards certain issues, the most important of which was the issue of the inheritance of the caliphate, to support his theory concerning the fabrication of *Ḥadīth* in the Ummayad era. So intent is he on proving this theory that he tries to bring forth any evidence he can, even if apocryphal. It is not impossible that his supposition of enmity between the Umayyads and the pious scholars is a reflection of his cultural heritage with regards to the state of the Jewish rabbis under the rule of the Romans. His depiction of what happened to the pious he himself likens to the situation of the rabbis when he says, "During the time when religious people were pushed into background by the rulers, they, like the Jewish rabbis under Roman rule, occupied themselves with research into the law, which had no validity for the real circumstances of life but represented for themselves the law of their ideal society."[2]

Our study also shows clearly that Goldziher did not delve very deeply into the study of Umayyad rule and the biographies of those rulers and their subordinates and the religious personalities which he charges with fabrication of *Ḥadīth*. The section that deals with these topics not only proves the points of weakness and defects in his theory and that the texts which he quotes do not accord with his conclusions, but

---

unable to produce one. The fact that it was impossible to fabricate a *ḥadīth* on the authority of the Prophet that could go unnoticed by the scholars speakars for itself." See A'ẓamī 2, p. 2.

[2] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 41-2.

more seriously than this, it proves that his method of research is not academically sound. This is clear from the following points:

1. Regarding some of Goldziher's references:

Each subject has its own body of authoritative, original sources that should be consulted when dealing with it and various related matters. To ignore this fact would be to fly in the face of academic principles. Nevertheless, it seems to be the practice of some writers on *Ḥadīth* or indeed in other fields to consult various irrelevant works and those compiled by tendentious or even anonymous authors. As can be seen from the following, Goldziher was one of these:

(i) His neglect of the Qur'ān:

Goldziher does not display any awareness of the role of the Qur'ān in explaining the importance of the *Sunnah* and of acting in accordance with it on an individual and governmental level. Nor does he turn his mind to the relationship of the Qur'ān with the *Sunnah,* and the need of the Qur'anic texts for the elucidation of the *Sunnah* from the very first moment that they appeared. While he asserts that the greater portion of the prophetic *Ḥadīth* are nothing but a result of the religious, historical and social development of Islam, we find that the nature of the Qur'anic texts is such that they require further discourse and examples by way of illustration in order to explain them from their first appearance which led to the existence of a tremendous number of prophetic traditions.[3] The fact that Goldziher neglects to refer

[3] See above, Section 1 of Chapter 1. We have indicated in Section 8 of Chapter 2, 'The Prophet's teaching of the *Sunnah* to his Companions,' that there is not a single statement to indicate that the Prophet abandoned, even once, the Friday sermon, whether he was at Madīnah or on a journey -the

to the texts of the Qur'ān leads him to grave error. For example, when he brings proof for his theory concerning the development of the *Ḥadīth*, specifically that there existed amongst later Muslims, opposition to ascribing the word *ḥadīth* to the Qur'ān, we find that the Qur'ān describes itself as *ḥadīth* in a number of places using this word.[4] When Goldziher asserts that 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān wanted to transfer the *ḥajj* from Makkah to the Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah in Jerusalem, he does not seem to be aware of the Qur'ān's detailed description of the places outside Makkah where the *ḥajj* is to be conducted.[5]

(ii) His neglect of the books of *Ḥadīth*:

Despite mentioning some source books on *Ḥadīth* in the preface of his book, Goldziher does not turn to them except when he wishes to support his own point of view, and remains blind to the hundreds of pieces of evidence which conflict with his opinions. These include those which evince the role and activities of the Prophet in preserving the *Sunnah* and publishing it on a wide scale so that it would be practically implemented amongst those who lived at his time,[6] and amongst those who continued to live until the last third of the first century of the *hijrah*, and who

Friday sermons that he delivered in Madīnah after his arrival, number about five hundred and ten. Even if he only spoke for, say, five minutes, then the possible *ḥadīths* based on these words alone could well run into thousands.

[4] See above, pp. 190-91.

[5] See above, pp. 284-5.

[6] Al-A'ẓamī noticed this as well; he says: "The first drawback in the setting of this picture is the complete omission of any reference which could shed some light on educational activities in early days." A'ẓamī, p. 11.

naturally passed the sayings and actions of the Prophet on to their sons – some of whom continued to live under ʻAbbāsid rule.[7]

(iii) His reliance on books whose authors are known for their anti-Umayyad tendencies:

We should take into account that in fact most of the narrations about the Umayyads were written during the ʻAbbāsid era, where ill-opinion of the Ummayyads was not uncommon. Therefore, it is the duty of a historian to be cautious when he writes on the Umayyads, as the entire literature available on the subject is the product of a period where anti-Umayyad sentiment ran high. Goldziher, when dealing with the Umayyads and *Ḥadīth* has recourse to the unreliable works of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, al-Masʻūdī and al-Yaʻqūbī, who are considered, by Muslim scholars, to be tendentious, Shīʻī authors, and as such can not be accepted as authoritative on matters related to the Umayyads. When writing about the Umayyad age or the first century of the *hijrah*, he should have been aware that academic methodology does not permit the use of these sources, let alone reliance upon them, except with great reservation because of the struggle that was taking place between the Shiʻites and the Umayyads. Alfred Von Kremer, for instance, says, "We should not forget, indeed, that the historians whose works have come down to us lived at the

[7] We may note also, his neglect of the books of *Ḥadīth* terminology:

Sezgin indicates that, "Goldziher fails to benefit from the books of *Ḥadīth* terminology known to him; parts of these were still preserved in manuscript form at that time." Sezgin, vol. 1, p. 119. This result in the disappearance of a number of facts with respect to that the writing down of *Ḥadīth* continued throughout the second half of the first century AH and the first half of the second century.

time of the Abbasid, when it would have been dangerous to say anything good or honourable of the Omayyad dynasty."[8]

Among the sources which Goldziher relies upon in his accusation of a subordinate of the Umayyads of *ḥadīth* fabrication is the book ***al-Kāmil fī al-lughah*** by al-Mubarrad, which is primarily a book on linguistics. However, its author tended towards the ideas of the Khārijites, and it would have been better to preserve caution when relying on this source because of the intensity of the dispute between the Khārijites and the Umayyads which more than once resulted in war.

(iv) His reliance upon a source of unknown authorship:

He relies continuously upon the contents of ***Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq*** which is of unknown authorship. Academic research should not be based upon sources of unknown identity, and in any case it does not take long for the reader to realise that its author is very biased against the Umayyads. It is as if he had decided to amplify their vices and obliterate their virtues as far as possible. Additionally, this source is not mentioned, and as such can be taken to be of little worth, by Muslim scholars who specialise in history.[9]

(v) His reliance upon literary sources:

---

[8] Orient, p. 163.

[9] We may also note, his reliance upon a source with no connection to the Umayyad age:

A'ẓamī states that, "J. Schacht says, 'Goldziher has pointed out that those traditions that were current in the Ummayyad period, were hardly concerned with law but rather with ethics, asceticism, eschatology, and politics' [citing: J. Schacht, *A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1949, P. 148]. This assumption, which was put forward by Goldziher and is accepted by Schacht and other scholars, is based on a misconception of the literary history of the Umayyad period, and perhaps the latter conception of Goldziher is based on the copy of Kitab al-Zuhd [Book of Asceticism] by Asad b. Mūsā, which is mentioned by him, but which does not belong to the period referred to. Asad b. Mūsā

Among the most important of this class of books that is relied upon by Goldziher, though having no connection with the disciplines of history or *Ḥadīth*, is *Kitāb al-Aghānī* which is a literary book of the first order and more specifically one which is associated with the singing of songs. Its author never claimed to have compiled it as an accurate historical narrative. Customarily, in literary sourcebooks the author seeks a strong literary style and pleasing mode of expression, possibly at the expense of other things, including factual accuracy. Whoever relies on a book such as this will definitely produce distorted ideas. For this reason, the scholars of Islam who specialised in history do not consider it to be a historical source, nor do they cite it due to their knowledge that it is a book of literature or *adab* in which the author does not identify the texts which he draws upon. Ibn Ḥajar himself mentioned a number of scholarly opinions on this source which lead the majority of researchers to deal with this source with restraint and caution.[10]

This reliance on tenuous sources began to disappear gradually from the works of later western writers, as is evidenced by Robson's writings on *Ḥadīth* which show, to a great extent, a dependence on the original sources – a fact that gives his works more credibility.[11]

---

was born in the early Abbasid period in 132 A.H. and died in 212 A.H.[citing: *Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, p. 260]" A'ẓamī, pp. 8-9.

[10] *Lisān*, vol. 4, p. 221, no. 584.

[11] "(1) In his two articles devoted to an investigation of the material of Ḥadīth, he restricts himself to ḥadīths recorded in the six recognised books of Ḥadīth, and justifies this by pointing out that "they are the works which are most generally recognised and they provide a representative body of material". It is also the case when he considers various reports pertaining to Jesus.

(2) Dealing with ḥadiths related to the Prophet, he examines only those ones recorded by al-Bukhārī, who is, as Robson remarks, "generally considered the most reliable of all".

2. His conclusions are not arrived at by competent academic research:[12]

(i) Though Goldziher points to the opposition of Muslims to the attribution of the word *'ḥadīth'* to the Qur'ān, we find many transmitters of *Ḥadīth* relating a number of traditions in which the Qur'ān is described as *'ḥadīth'*.[13] Similarly, we find that the Qur'ān describes itself in a number of verses with this very word.[14]

(ii) Goldziher describes the arrogance of the Umayyad rulers, evidenced by their alleged repugnance at the idea of standing before the people during the *Jumu'ah*

---

(3) Considering recurrent forms in which ḥadīths are presented, he confines himself to Walī al-Dīn's *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ,* which provides a representative body of ḥadiths from the works of al-Bukhārī, Muslim and others.

(4) As for dealing with the Principles of Ḥadīth, Robson usually consults recognised, original sources on the subject; his most common references are the following: *al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* of Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-ḥadīth* and *al-Madkhal ilā kitāb al-iklīl* of al-Ḥākim, *al-Kifāyah* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and *'Ulūm al-ḥadīth* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. For example, in discussing the different methods of receiving ḥadīths, he gives a brief account of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's presentation of the issue, and in dealing with the different words which were used to report them, he represents the opinion of al-Ḥākim, al-Khaṭīb and Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. To deal with the categories of transmitters whose transmissions may be accepted, and of those who are of a lower authority, he relies upon Ibn Abī Ḥātim's classification in his *al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl,* then he quotes Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ for other information on the subject. Elucidating the difference between the Qur'ān and divine ḥadīths, he depends on *al-Aḥādīth al-Qudsiyyah* of 'Alī al-Qārī, *al-Itḥāfāt al-Saniyyah* of al-Madanī and al-Tahānawī's *Dictionary of technical terms.*

(5) A quick comparison between Robson's article on Ḥadīth in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* and that of W. Juynboll under the same heading in the first edition of the encyclopaedia, shows how the work of the former differs in terms of objectivity and references to a great extent - an example that suffices to indicate Robson's dependence, as opposed to the latter, on the original sources.

Moreover, Robson occasionally includes a full translation of the original source, in order to clarify the matter in question; in one of his articles, he gives a full translation of a section, which pertains to the following of the Sunnah of the Prophet, of *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān* by al-Ghazālī, in order to demonstrate his insistence on the following of the Prophet in the most minute details.'' See Beyanouni, pp. 283-5.

[12] Sezgin also alludes to this when he says: "When a person discusses his research in detail and deals with it in a highly critical manner, he feels that he has not delved deeply into the issue." See Sezgin, vol. 1, part 1, p. 120.

[13] See above, pp. 188-9.

[14] See above, pp. 190-91.

speech.[15] However, it has become clear to us after careful study that they did not resort to sitting down except when there was an excuse.[16]

(iii) When Goldziher points to the hatred that the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik allegedly had for Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and his desire to kill him because his pietistical opposition to him was repellent and inconvenient to him. However, it appears upon investigation that the Yazīd that is dealt with in the text that Goldziher quotes is none other than Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, and not the Umayyad caliph. It appears also that the stance that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī took towards that event was in the interest of the consolidation of Umayyad rule.

(iv) Goldziher accuses al-Zuhrī of fabricating the *ḥadīth* about visiting the three mosques in order to realise the desire of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān for the transfer of the *ḥajj* from Makkah to Jerusalem. However, after an analysis and examination of the texts, we find that it is impossible to ascribe this charge to al-Zuhrī.[17] Likewise, this study shows that al-Zuhrī was not the only transmitter of this *ḥadīth* in his time. In fact, it was related by more than twenty of his contemporaries.[18]

(v) When he accuses Rajā' b. Ḥaywah of fabricating a *ḥadīth* to the effect that "'Uthmān was of the habit of delivering the first *khuṭbah* standing and the second sitting,' as a justification of the desire of the Umayyad rulers not to stand, a

---

[15] He says, "... standing in front of the community was apparently not to the taste of proud Umayyad princes" See vol. 2, p. 49. And further, "But their aristocratic arrogance - if the mind of those proud Qurayshites is pictured - seems to have revolted at the idea of standing like hired preachers before their subjects" See vol. 2, p. 50.

[16] See above, p. 307-8.

[17] See above, Section 3 of Chapter 5.

comparison of the text which Goldziher quotes with other relevant texts demonstrates that this was one of the sayings of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and was not in fact said by Rajā'.

(vi) While Goldziher is of the opinion that the pious fabricated the *ḥadīth*: 'There will come emirs after me who will kill (*yumītūna*) the *ṣalāt*' in an attack against the Umayyad rulers, we find this *ḥadīth* to have been propagated to a greater extent during the 'Abbāsid era. If we are to accept Goldziher's theory, that the 'Abbāsid era favoured the *Sunnah* and the pious, this *ḥadīth* should have dwindled to obscurity.[19]

3. Generalising by taking a single or uncommon incident and enlarging it to cover the whole century as well as the entire Umayyad dynasty:

Goldziher cites three events in order to prove the dissatisfaction of the pious with the chaotic conditions under the Umayyad regime, their revulsion towards despotic rule and their challenge to it with a kind of negative resistance in which they demonstrated their aversion in an open manner. These events however, took place within a single city of the Umayyad empire, and only traverse a period of about five years and approximately the rule of one caliph. Goldziher capitalises on the events which took place in this city – despite the fact that they do not in reality uphold his conclusions – to support an allegation that this pious dissatisfaction was to be found throughout the Umayyad empire, which stretched geographically from the western

---

[18] See above, pp. 288-9.
[19] See above, pp. 224-9.

borders of China to the south of France, and existed for a period of almost 100 years.[20]

He also believes, despite the fact that on examination they do not support his viewpoint, that two examples of the Umayyad government's enmity towards the pious is sufficient grounds for generalising about the empire as a whole.[21]

As A'ẓamī says: "If one were to utilize the technique of Goldziher's research and his method of generalization, one might draw the following picture of 20th-century Europe:

1. Western Society is so corrupt that it uses holy churches for unholy purposes.[22]

2. People are so demoralised that they force 8 to 10 year old girls to earn their living as whores.[23]

3. There is no security, society being infested with gangsters and racketeers, and people live in constant danger to life and property.[24]

4. They are so cruel that they practice infanticide.[25]

The obvious absurdity of these conclusions is sufficient to demonstrate the invalidity of Goldziher's technique of research and his method of generalization.

---

[20] See above, Section 3 of Chapter 4.
[21] See above, p. 217.
[22] Drugs were passed at the meeting of church youth club. *Daily Mirror*, Apr. 17, 1967.
[23] A man used two sisters of 8 and 10 for the purpose of procuration. *The Times*, Apr. 22, 1967.
[24] Criminals in England steal £500,000 weekly, *Daily Telegraph*, May 2, 1967.
[25] A City leads in legal abortions. *The Sunday Times*, page 3, 5th Feb. 1967.

Even if we were to accept his generalization, it would be almost impossible to follow him to his extreme conclusions, because the references provided by him do not justify his assumptions."[26]

4. Quoting a text and dispensing with the part that conflicts with his view:

Goldziher takes great pains to explain the first phrases of al-Ṭabarī's narration in order to prove that official encouragement on the part of the Umayyads for the invention, dissemination and suppression of traditions had begun at an early stage. This narration takes up nearly three pages that illustrate the real meaning of the initial expressions that appear in the narration and have nothing to do with the fabrication, propagation, and suppression of *ḥadīths*. Goldziher however, dispenses with the parts of the narration which contradict his point of view.[27]

In order to prove the Umayyads' hatred of and aversion to pious scholars, he quotes an account of the threat made by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf against Anas b. Mālik, and ignores the rest of the narrative which tells of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's censure and warning of al-Ḥajjāj; the subsequent apology that was given to Anas from the caliph and al-Ḥajjāj; and the respect that al-Ḥajjāj paid to Anas b. Mālik until his death.[28]

---

[26] A'ẓamī, pp. 11-2. H. Motzki also indicates that this is a recognised weakness in the work of Goldziher and Schacht, stating, "The source-analytical works of Heribert Horst, "Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar aṭ-Ṭabarīs," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 103 (1953): 290-307; Georg Stauth, *Die Überlieferung des Korankommentars Muǧāhid b. Ǧabrs* (Gießen, 1969); Fuad Sezgin, *Buhârî'nin kaynaklart hakkinda ara ştirmarlar* (Istanbul, 1956); and others suggest that Goldziher and especially Schacht, viewed the *isnād* too skeptically and that they generalized too quickly from single observations."

[27] See above, Section 2 of Chapter 3.

[28] See above, Section 4 of Chapter 4.

5. The reliance upon posthumous opinions:

It can be seen that Goldziher has based certain of his conclusions upon the posthumous opinions of certain scholars regarding people who lived some time before them. He should have been alert to the distance in time between these opinions and the people about whom they are intended, for example, al-Mubarrad's opinion about al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, or the opinion of Abū Dāwūd al-Maṣāḥifī about Shahr b. Ḥawshab. The first's ruling about al-Muhallab came about 200 years after his death,[29] and the second's ruling about Shahr came about 138 years after his death.[30]

6. Citation of the apocryphal:

The narration of al-Ya'qūbī which contains the report that the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān wanted to change the *ḥajj* from Makkah to Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah in Jerusalem and make the people circumambulate the rock instead of the Ka'bah, is considered to be an apocryphal narration from Islamic history and is not mentioned by any chronicler. Goldziher however, does not hesitate to cite it.[31] Similarly, what was said about Shahr b. Ḥawshab – namely that he was discredited as a narrator of tradition because he held a government post – is also considered apocryphal and is not spoken of by any of the scholars.[32] The narration which Goldziher cites from ***Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa al-ḥadā'iq*** that states that Rajā' b. Ḥaywah

---

[29] See above, p. 314.
[30] See above, p. 327.

narrated *ḥadīth* for the Umayyads in order to justify their sitting during the *khuṭbah* is also considered apocryphal because of the literary corruption which is present in it,[33] and the fact that not one of the chroniclers mentions it.

7. Extreme interpretation of texts:

While al-Mubarrad said, "Al-Muhallab [b. Abī Ṣufrah] may have fabricated *ḥadīth* in order to strengthen the Muslim's case and weaken the Khārijites case," we find that Goldziher goes to an extreme in his understanding of this expression and says of al-Muhallab: "It is expressly reported of the great general al-Muhallab, the scourge of the Khārijite dissenters (d. 83), that he **was concerned** with falsifying traditions to encourage his soldiers against these mutineers."[34]

He points to the fact that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid was **for years** an important official of Umayyad princes, and from this we are evidently to take that he was an figure of some importance for the Ummayads. However, we find that the complete period for which he occupied this position was two years, seven months and five days and that he was ousted for incompetence.[35]

When Mu'āwiyah ordered his governor al-Mughīrah not to listen to the companions of 'Alī, and to listen to and reconcile the companions of 'Uthmān, we find that Goldziher interprets the text with an extremity that results in distortion of its

---

[31] See above, pp. 281-2.
[32] See above, p. 327.
[33] See above, pp. 297-302.
[34] See above, pp. 314-5.
[35] See above, pp. 320-21

meaning. He takes it to mean that they refused to listen to the *ḥadīths* of the companions of 'Alī, and accepted the *ḥadīths* of the party of 'Uthmān. In fact, the whole issue consists of no more than a series of disparaging remarks which do not substantiate the degree of invention or suppression of Prophetic *ḥadīths* that Goldziher alleges.[36]

When Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam asks 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far: "Have you come from *khibthah* (filth)?"[37] meaning by this the city of the Prophet, we find that Goldziher takes this solitary report of the description of Madīnah in this way, and exaggerates it so that it becomes part of Umayyad terminology to call the city by this name: "The Umayyads called the Prophet's city *al-khabitha*, the dirty one [citing: al-'Iqd, II, p. 140, 8 from the bottom]."[38] This in addition to the fact that this is primarily a literary statement.[39]

---

[36] See above, Section 2 of Chapter 3.

[37] *Al-'Iqd*, vol. 1, pp. 313-4:
"ثم استأذن ابنُ جعفر على عبد الملك [بن مروان]، فلما دخل عليه استقبله عبد الملك بالترحيب، ثم أخذه بيده فأجلسه معه على سريره، ثم سأله فـألطف المسألة، حتى سأله عن مطعمه ومشربه. فلما انقضت مسألته، قال له يحيى بن الحكم: 'أمِن خِبْثة كان وَجْهك أبا جعفر؟' قال: 'وما خبثة؟' قال: 'أرضك التي جئت منها.' قال: 'سبحان الله، رسول الله يسميها طِيبة وتُسميها خِبثة، لقد اختلفتما في الدنيا وأظنكما في الآخرة مختلفَين.'"

[38] Goldziher, vol. 2, p. 46.

[39] We may add one further example: Yasin Dutton also noticed Goldziher's exaggeration. He said, "In this connection we may note that Goldziher's criticism that Mālik "cares little about the *rijāl*" since he "takes over and passes on unhesitatingly *ḥadīths* told by the erotic singer 'Urwa ibn Udhayna" (see *Muslim Studies* II: 135), is highly questionable. Firstly, that Māik "cares little about the *rijāl*" runs counter to everything we know about Mālik's strict standards of criticism of his authorities, which are readily apparent in the same source that Goldziher uses (see *Tahdhīb* X: 5 ff), and we must therefore doubt very much whether Mālik took over and passed on any *ḥadīth* "unhesitatingly." Secondly, he relates only one *ḥadīth* from Ibn Udhayna in the *Muwaṭṭa'* (see *Muw.* I: 314; Zur. II: 333), and not "*ḥadīths*". Thirdly, to describe Ibn Udhayna as an "erotic singer" is misleading, to say the least. The passage in *Kitāb al-Aghānī* to which Goldziher refers actually describes him as "one of the most respected love-poets of Madina, counted as a *faqīh* and a *muḥaddith* (*shā'ir ghazal muqaddam min shu'arā' ahl al-Madina wa-huwa ma'dūd fī l-fuqahā' wa-l-muḥaddithīn*)" and mentions also that his grandfather transmitted from 'Alī (see *al-Aghānī* XXI: 162-3), to which al-Zurqānī adds that he was a man of good character (*khayyir*) and trustworthy (*thiqa*) (see Zur. II: 333). It is hardly blameworthy therefore that Mālik should transmit one *ḥadīth* from a man who was considered to be both a *faqīh*

8. Resorting to conjecture in the assessment of various issues:

At times, Goldziher resorts to employing conjecture in making judgements where the issues he is discussing are of such importance that this is not acceptable. He begins by establishing his certainty of the role of the Umayyads and their followers in fabrication of *Ḥadīth* when he says: "A number of facts are available to show that the impetus to these inventions and falsifications often came from the highest government circles … ."[40] Subsequently, however, he dithers between doubt and certainty in his expressions. For example:

"We are unlikely to have even as much confidence as Dozy regarding a large part of the ḥadīth, **but will probably** consider by far the greater part of it as the result of the religious, historical and social development of Islam during the first two centuries."[41]

"The greater part of the traditions invented for these purposes [for political and dynastic interests] **were probably** due to official initiative and influence."[42]

"Amongst traditions which the *mawlā* Layth b. Sa'd spread on the authority of the latter there are **presumably many** which were to benefit the prevailing political tendencies, because this 'Abd al-Raḥmān was for years an important official of Umayyad princes."[43]

---

and a *muḥaddith* and a respected member of the cultural community of his time." (personal communication)

[40] Goldziher, vol. 2, pp. 43-4.

[41] Ibid., p. 19.

[42] Ibid., p. 52.

[43] Ibid., pp. 45-6.

"In general, all traditions dealing with the question of whether Syria or Medina had preference and answering it in favour of Syria **are probably** due to Umayyad influence."[44]

"People who were nearer to the conditions of the time could judge things differently, like Ibn 'Awn who lived but a few decades after Shahr **and perhaps** had proof that theologians in official position **were used – or were willing**, without outward pressure, because of their interest in the prevailing power – to put into circulation tendentious traditions."[45]

Finally, after his extensive argument, Goldziher is left in the awkward situation of being unable to provide more than a small handful of allegedly fabricated *ḥadīth*, while if fabrication had been taking place with the ferocity that he alleges, there should have been a burgeoning body of examples from the period in question. He presents the following explanation: "The fact that, amongst the ḥadīths that have been handed on to us, in spite of their being of a preponderantly tendentious character, **the Umayyad ones are not well represented is no proof that they did not exist in a much greater number than they are found in our various collections.**"[46]

This is an inherently weak statement, for if the fact that they are not found in the various collections is no proof that they did not exist previously, which by no means follows, where is the proof that they did exist?

---

[44] Ibid., pp. 45-6.
[45] Ibid., pp. 52-3.

It should be clear from the above that the reliance on Goldziher accepted by so many Western scholars is foundationless and that his high reputation amongst such scholars should be reconsidered.

[46] Ibid., p. 53.

GLOSSARY

The meanings and definitions given below are according to the context in which the words are used in this thesis.

adhān: the call to prayer pronounced loudly to indicate that the time of praying is due.
aḥādīth: *see ḥadīth.*
al-aḥzāb: 'the confederates'; parties; groups; the title of the 33rd sūrah of the Qur'ān; also, a name of an Islamic battle.
ajzā': pl. of *juz'*. *See juz'*.
Anṣār: 'helpers.' The Companions of the Prophet from the inhabitants of Madīnah, who embraced Islam and supported him and who received and entertained the Muslim emigrants from Makkah.
Anṣārī: singular of Anṣār.
'Arafāt: 'the plain of recognition.' A place situated about 25 kilometers to the east of Makkah, where pilgrims stay on the 9th day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the 10th month of the Islamic calendar.
'aṣr: the mid-afternoon prayer.

Banī or Banū Isrā'īl: the children of Israel, i.e. the Jews.

Companion: one who saw the Prophet and believed in him; one of the Muslims living at the time of the Prophet.

Dhū al-Ḥulayfah: a place situated about 11 kilometers to the south of Madīnah, where pilgrims assume the state of *iḥrām*.
Dīn: religion brought by the Prophets of Allāh.
dirham: Islamic silver currency equivalent in weight to about 50 grains of barley.

fajr or *al-fajr*: the dawn prayer, early morning before sunrise.
farā'iḍ or *al-farā'iḍ*: an obligatory duty to Allāh; also 'The law of inheritance' which designates the shares given to the relatives of the deceased which are fixed and described in the Qur'ān 4.11, 12 and 176.

ḥadīth: every *ḥadīth* consists of two parts, the *isnād* (the chain of transmitters) and the *matn* (text). Each of these two parts is of equal importance to a scholar. The latter as a report of the sayings or doings of the Prophet, forms the basis of the Islamic rituals and laws, and the former constitutes the credentials of the latter. According to *Muḥaddithīn* it refers to what was transmitted on the authority of the Prophet, his deeds, sayings, tacit approval, or description of his *ṣifāt*

(features), meaning his physical appearance. However, descriptions of this kind are not included in the definition used by the jurists.

Ḥarrah: An area of land that is covered with black stones; it is well-known in al-Madīnah.

hijrah: The Muslim calendar is recorded from the year of the migration of Prophet Muḥammad from Makkah to Madīnah.

'Īd al-aḍḥā: the four-day festival of the Muslims starting on the 10th day of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

'Īd al-fiṭr: the three-day festival of the Muslims starting on the first day of the month of Shawāl, the month following Ramaḍān. *Fiṭr* literally means 'breaking the fast'. The Muslims fast during the month of Ramaḍān, then when Shawwāl comes, they break their fast.

Imām: a person who leads the prayer.

imāmah: the station of Imām.

'ishā': the night prayer, the time for which starts between one and one half hours after sunset.

isnād: the chain of transmitters. *See ḥadīth.*

al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl: criticism and justification.

jihād: 'an effort' or, 'striving': Holy fighting in the cause of Allāh or any other kind of effort to make Allāh's word (Islam) superior. *Jihād* is regarded as one of the principles of Islam.

juz': a document containing *ḥadīṯh*; can also refer to a section of the Qur'ān.

Ka'bah: lit. 'the Cube': A cube-like building built by Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl in the center of the house of Allāh in Makkah towards which all Muslims turn their face in prayer.

khilāfah: rulership.

al-khumus: one-fifth of the war booty that is given to the *bayt al-māl*, (public treasury). *See* Q. 8:41.

khuṭbah: the sermon or oration delivered on Friday before the prayer or after the prayer at *'Īd* prayers and other occasions.

kitāb: book; writing material.

kutub al-masānīd: books containing the *musnad* of *ḥadīths*. '*musnad*' denotes a *ḥadīth* which a traditionist reports from his *shaykh* from whom he is known to have heard *aḥādīth* at a time of life suitable for learning, and similarly in turn for each *shaykh*, until the *isnād* reaches a well-known Companion, who in turn reports from the Prophet. The term *musnad* is also applied to those collections of *aḥādīth* which give the *aḥādīth* of each Companion separately. The largest existing collection of *aḥādīth* of Companions arranged in this manner is that of Imām Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal.

maghrib: the sunset prayer.

maqṭū' or *munqaṭi'*: an *isnād* from which a name has disappeared.

marāsīl: pl. of *mursal*. If the link between the Successor and the Prophet is missing, the *ḥadīth* is *mursal* (hurried), e.g. when a Successor says, "The Prophet said . . . ."

marfū': record of a word or deed of the Prophet reported by the Companion who heard or saw it.

matn: *see ḥadīth.*

matrūk: one whose *ḥadīth* is left aside, is invalid.

mawlā: manumitted slave; Master or Lord. Also used for a freed slave.

mawqūf: an *isnād* going back to the Companions, but stopping short of the prophet.

Minā: a valley outside Makkah on the way to 'Arafāt. It is five miles away from Makkah, where pilgrims stop for three days during the *ḥajj*, and about 10 miles from 'Arafāt.

minbar: raised platform in a Mosque from which the *khuṭbah* is delivered.

al-mufaṣṣal (*ḥizb al-mufaṣṣal*): last section of the Qur'ān containing the short *sūrahs* [i.e. from *sūrat Qāf* to the end].

Muḥaddīthīn or *Muḥaddithūn*: pl. of Muḥaddith: A narrator of *Ḥadīth*, a man learned in *Ḥadīth.*

muftī: a learned Islamic leader who gives or is qualified to give legal Islamic verdicts.

Muhājir: any of the early Muslims who had emigrated to Madīnah in the lifetime of the Prophet, before the conquest of Makkah.

al- mu'minūn: the Believers.

munqaṭi': *see maqṭū'.*

al-Muqaddimah: introduction.

mutawātir ḥadīth: a *ḥadīth* which has been transmitted throughout the first three generations of Muslims by such a large number of narrators that the possibility of fabrication must be entirely discarded. Opinions differ on the number of transmitters necessary for *tawātur* to be attained during each of the three generations: some authorities fix it at seven, some at forty, some at seventy, and others at still higher numbers.

al-naḥr: the 10th day of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah on which all pilgrims slaughter their sacrifice.

niṣāb: minimum amount of property liable to payment of the *zakāh*, e.g. *niṣāb* of gold is 20 *mithqāl*, i.e. approx. 94 Grams; *niṣāb* of silver is 200 *dirhams*, i.e. approx. 640 Grams; *niṣāb* of food-grains and fruit is 5 awsuq, i.e. 643.5 Kgms; *niṣāb* of camels is 5 camels; *niṣāb* of cows is 5 cows; and *niṣāb* of sheep is 40 sheep, etc.

qiblah: the direction in which all Muslims must turn their faces in the prayer, i.e. towards the Ka'bah in Makkah.

Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah: dome of the Rock.

qīrāṭ: a special weight; sometimes a very great weight like Uḥud Mountain. 1 *qīrāṭ* = 1/2 Daniq & 1 Danig = 1/6 Dirham.

qunūt: a special invocation offered in the *witr* prayer at night or after the second *rukū'* in the *fajr* prayer.

Quraysh: one of the greatest tribes in Arabia during the pre-Islamic era, which had great powers spiritually and financially both before and after the advent of Islam. Prophet Muḥammad, was born into this tribe which dwells in Makkah.

rak'ah: one cycle of ritual bowing and prostration in prayer.

ruku': bowing in prayer.

al-rasūl: the Apostle of Allāh.

al-ruqī: pl. of *ruqyah*: divine speech that is recited as a means of curing an illness in someone who is sick.

ṣadaqah: voluntary alms, a charitable donation which does not require offer and acceptance and which moreover always irrevocable.

Ṣaḥābah: pl. of *ṣaḥābī* i.e. Companion. *See* Companion.

ṣaḥīfah: document; Booklet; a pamphlet.

ṣaḥīḥ: authentic.

sa'y: going 7 times between the two mountains of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah; one of the essential rites of both *ḥajj* and *'umrah*.

Sal': a well-known mountain in Madīnah.

ṣalāh: prayer. There are five daily obligatory prayers in Islam, consisting of fixed sets of standings, bowings, prostrations and sittings in worship to Allāh. Besides these, there are two types of optional *ṣalāh*:

1. *sunnah*; the optional *ṣalāh* that one does before and after the obligatory one. These voluntary *ṣalāhs* fall into two categories:
    a. *sunnah mu'akkadah* (confirmed). These types of *ṣalāh* were always regularly done by the Prophet.
    b. *sunnah ghayr mu'akkadah* (not confirmed). These types of *ṣalāh* were often, but not always, practised by the Prophet.
2. Others; any other *ṣalāh* that one may wish to perform.

al-ṣalātu jāmi'ah: a term used for calling people to the Mosque for prayer or an important issue. This term has been used before and after the establishment of *adhān*.

ṣawm: fasting, during the month of Ramaḍān or otherwise.

sīrah: an historical narration or biography.

ṣiyām: *see ṣawm*

ṣuḥuf: pl. of *ṣaḥifah*

sujūd: prostration.

shūrā: consultation, specifically between a ruler and his chief advisers.

sūrah: a chapter division of the Qur'ān, of which there are 114.

sūrat: *see sūrah*.

Tabūk: a valley about 700 miles north of Madīnah where a military expedition took place against the Romans. This battle which was attended by at least 40,000 people, was the last battle led by the Prophet himself.

tafsīr: commentary on and interpretation of the Qur'ān.

al-taḥiyyāt: the greeting (*see al-tashahhud* below).

tashrīq: lit. vb. 'to dry meat in the sun.' *tashrīq* days are the 11th, 12th and 13th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah on which animals are sacrificed as an act of worship and obedience to Allāh, as was done by Ibrāhīm

al-tashahhud: refers to the words recited in the ritual prayers while seated that begin with *'al-taḥiyyātu li-llahi'*. These words are recited while sitting after two *rak'ahs* and at the final sitting before salutation in Prayer.

ṭawāf: the act of circumambulation of the Ka'bah seven times.

ummah: a nation; a people; a sect. Usually used to describe the Muslims.

'umrah: a lesser ceremony than *ḥajj* in which a person comes to Makkah during or out of the season of *ḥajj* and performs *ṭawāf* and *sa'ī*.

witr: an odd number. Optional odd numbered *rak'ah* prayers performed after *'ishā'* prayer. Usually 3 *rak'ahs* are performed, but any odd number is acceptable: 1, 5, 7, etc.

wuḍu': ablution made before saying the prayers in the traditional manner as described in *Ḥadīth*.

zakāh: lit. 'purification.' Obligatory charity which is one of the five major pillars of Islam. *Zakāh* is a definite portion of wealth which is given to needy at the turn of the year. e.g:

zakāh on grazing camels;
zakāh on grazing sheep;
zakāh for cows;
the *zakāh* on agricultural produce;
the *zakāh* on gold and silver coinage.

zakāt al-fiṭr: an obligatory *ṣadaqah* to be given before the prayer of *'īd al-fiṭr*. It is obligatory for every fasting Muslim.

ẓuhr: the noon prayer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Al-'Abdarī, Abū al-Maḥāsin. *Timthāl al-amthāl*. Ed. As'ad Dhibiyān. n.p. Dār al-Masīrah, 1403/1982.

'Abd b. Ḥumayd, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd b. Ḥumayd b. Naṣr al-Kissī (d. 249/863). *al-Muntakhab min musnad 'Abd b. Ḥumayd*. Ed. Ṣubḥī al-Badrī al-Sāmurā'ī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṣa'īdī. Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunnah, 1408/1988.

'Abd al-Razzāq, See al-Ṣan'ānī

Al-'Absī, See Ibn Abī Shaybah

Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath al-Sijistānī al-Azdī (d. 275/888). *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*. Ed. 'Izzat 'Ubayd al-Da'ās. 5 vols. Homs: Dār al-Ḥadīth 1389-1393/1969-1973.

Abū al-Faraj, See al-Aṣfahānī

Abū al-Maḥāsin, See Ibn Taghrī Birdī al-Atābikī.

Abū Nu'aym, See al-Aṣbahānī

Abū 'Ubayd, al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838). *al-Amwāl*. Ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harrās. 2nd edn. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1395/1975.

Abū Yūsuf, Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī (d. 182/798). *al-Āthār*. Ed. Abū al-Wafā. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1355/1936.

al-Kharāj. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1399/1979.

Abū Ya'lā, Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Muthannā (d. 307/919). *Musnad Abī Ya'lā*. Ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad. 13 vols. Damascus: Dār al-Ma'mūn li'l-Turāth, 1404/1983.

Al-Andalusī, See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr.

Anonymous. *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Leiden, 1871, Baghdād: Maktabat al-Muthannā, n.d. (*al-'Uyūn wa al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq*. vol. III)

Al-Anṣārī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Alī b. Aḥmad (d. 783/1381). *al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍī' fī kuttāb al-nabī al-ummī wa rusulih ilā mulūk al-arḍ min 'arabī wa 'ajamī*. Beirut, 1406/1986.

Al-Aṣbahānī, Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 430/1038). *Ḥilyat al-awliyā' wa ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.

Al-Aṣbaḥī, Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795). *al-Muwaṭṭa'*. Ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. 2 vols. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, n.d.

Al-Aṣfahānī, Abū al-Faraj (d. 356/966). *al-Aghānī*. Ed. 'Abd al-Amīr 'Alī Muhannā and Samīr Yūsuf Jābir. 3rd edn. 27 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1415/1995.

Al-'Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar (d. 852/1448). *Fatḥ al-Bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.* Ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Bāz. 14 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1379/1959.

al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.

Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb. 12 vols. India, 1325-27/1907-09.

Ta'jīl al-manfa'ah. Ed. Ikrām Allāh Imdād al-Ḥaqq. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.

Taqrīb al-tahdhīb. Ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1395/1975.

Lisān al-mīzān. 7 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, 1406/1986.

Al-Azdī, See Abū Dāwūd

Al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb (d. 463/1070). *al-Jāmi' li akhlāq al-rāwī wa ādāb al-sāmi'.* Ed. Maḥmūd al-Ṭaḥḥān. 2 vols. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1403/1983.

al-Kifāyah fī 'ilm al-riwāyah. Ed. Aḥmad 'Umar Hāshim. 2nd edn. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1406/1986.

Taqyīd al-'ilm. Ed. Yūsuf al-'Ush. Ḥalab: Dār al-Wa'ī, 1395/1975.

al-Riḥlah fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth. Ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr. 2nd edn., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1395/1975.

Tārīkh Baghdād. 14 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d.

Al-Basawī, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Sufyān (d. 277/890). *al-Ma'rifah wa al-tārīkh.* Ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-'Umarī. Madīnah: Maktabat al-Dār, 1410/1989.

Al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 458/1065). *al-Sunan al-kubrā.* Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā. 10 vols. Makkah: Maktabat Dār al-Bāz, 1414/1994.

Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (d. 256/869). *al-Ḍu'afā' al-ṣaghīr.* Lahore: Idārat Turjumān al-Sunnah, 1402/1982.

Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. Ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Bāz. 14 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, n.d.

al-Tārīkh al-kabīr. Ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mu'allimī al-Yamānī. India: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah, 1380/1960.

al-Tārīkh al-ṣaghīr. Lahore: Idārat Turjumān al-Sunnah, 1402/1982.

al-Adab al-Mufrad. Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1410/1990.

Al-Bustī, See Ibn Ḥibbān

Al-Dāraquṭnī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar (d. 385/995). *Sunan al-Dāraquṭnī.* 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1414/1994.

Kitāb al-Ḍu'afā' wa al-matrūkīn. Ed. Ṣubḥī al-Badrī al-Sāmurā'ī, 2nd edn. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1406/1986.

Al-Dārimī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 255/868). *Sunan al-Dārimī.* Ed. Fawwāz Aḥmad Zimirlī and Khālid al-Sab' al-'Almī. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1407/1987

Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn ʻUthmān (d. 748/1347). *Mīzān al-iʻtidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*. Ed. ʻAlī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī. 4 vols. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ʻArabiyyah, 1382/1963.

Siyar aʻlām al-nubalā'. Ed. Shuʻayb al-Arna'ūṭ. 7th edn. 25 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1410/1990.

Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ. Ed. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Muʻallimī. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyah, 1375/1955.

Al-Dimashqī, See Ibn Ṭūlūn

Al-Dīnawarī, Abū Ḥanīfah Aḥmad b. Dāwūd (d. 282/895). *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*. Ed. ʻAbd al-Munʻim ʻĀmir. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-ʻArabiyyah, 1380/1960.

Al-Dīnawarī, Abū Muḥammad ʻAbd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutaybah (d. 276/889). *al-Maʻārif*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyah, 1407/1987.

Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth. Ed. ʻAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ʻAṭā. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1402/1982.

Al-Dumayrī, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsā (d. 808/1405). *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*. Ed. Aḥmad Ḥasan Basj. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyah, 1415/1994.

Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, Muḥammad b. ʻAbd Allāh (d. 405/1014). *Maʻrifat ʻulūm al-Ḥadīth*. Ed. Muʻaẓẓam Ḥusayn and M. I. D. Fell. 2nd edn. Madīnah: al-Maktabah al-ʻIlmiyyah, 1397/1977.

al-Mustadrak ʻalā al-ṣaḥīḥayn. Ed. Muṣṭafā ʻAbd al-Qādir ʻAṭā. 5th edn. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyah, 1411/1990.

Al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt b. ʻAbd Allāh (d. 626/1228). *Muʻjam al-buldān*. Ed. Farīd ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Jundī. 7 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyh, n.d.

Al-Haythamī, ʻAlī b. Abī Bakr (d. 807/1404). *Majmaʻ al-zawā'id*. 10 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʻArabī, 1407/1986.

Al-Ḥumaydī, ʻAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (d. 219/834). *Musnad al-Ḥumaydī*. Ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʻẓamī. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyah, 1381/1961.

Ibn ʻAbd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. ʻAbd al-Barr al-Andalusī al-Qurṭubī (d. 463/1070). *al-Istīʻāb fī maʻrifat al-aṣḥāb*. Ed. ʻAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1412/1991.

Jāmiʻ bayān al-ʻilm wa faḍlih. 2 vols. in 1. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyah, n.d.

Ibn ʻAbd Rabbih, Aḥmad Ibn ʻAbd Rabbih al-Andalusī al-Qurṭubī (d. 328/939). *al-ʻIqd al-farīd*. 7 vols. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-ʻArabī, 1409/1989.

Ibn Abī ʻĀṣim, Aḥmad b. ʻAmr b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shaybānī (d. 287/900). *al-Āḥād wa al-mathānī*. Ed. Bāsim Fayṣal. 6 vols. Riyadh: Dār al-Rāyah, 1411/1991.

al-Sunnah. Ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī. 2 vols. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1400/1979.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938). *al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*. 9 vols. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1271/1952.

Ibn Abī Shaybah, Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Absī (d. 235/936). *al-Kitāb al-Muṣannaf fi al-aḥādīth wa al-āthār*. Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Shāhīn. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1416/1995.

Ibn 'Adī, Abū Aḥmad 'Abd Allāh b. 'Adī al-Jurjānī (d. 365/975). *al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā' al-rijāl*. 3rd edn. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1409/1988.

Ibn 'Asākir, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan (d. 571/1176). *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*. 70 vols. Amman: Markaz al-Turāth li-Abḥāth al-Ḥāsib al-Ālī, 1409/1999.

Ibn al-Athīr, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī (d. 630/1233). *al-Kāmil*. Ed. Carolus Johannes. 4 vols. Leiden: Tornberg, 1862-1876.

Usd al-ghābah fī ma'rifat al-ṣaḥābah. 6 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1409/1989.

Ibn Ḥajar, See al-'Asqalānī

Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal al-Shaybānī (d. 241/855). *al-'Ilal wa ma'rifat al-rijāl*. Ed. Waṣī Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Abbās. Bombay: al-Dār al-Salafiyyah, 1408/1988.

al-Musnad. Ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir vols. 1-15 in 8, al-Ḥusaynī 'Abd al-Majīd Hāshim vols. 16-19 in 3 and al-Ḥusaynī 'Abd al-Majīd Hāshim and Aḥmad 'Umar Hāshim vols. 20-22 in 2. 2nd edn. Egypt: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1369-1405/1950-1985.

al-Musnad. 6 vols. Cairo: al-Maymaniyyah, 1313/1895.

al-Musnad. 2nd edn. 9 vols. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1414/1993.

Ibn Ḥazm al-Ẓāhirī, 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd (d. 456/1063). *al-Iḥkām fi uṣūl al-aḥkām*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1405/1985.

al-Muḥallā. Ed. Lajnat Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī. 11 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīdah, n.d.

Jawāmi' al-sīrah. Ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās & Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad. Reviewed by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir. Bākistān: Idārat Turjumān al-Sunnah, n.d.

Ibn Ḥibbān, Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965). *al-Majrūḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn wa al-ḍu'afā' wa al-matrūkīn*. Ed. Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Zāyid. 2 vols. Ḥalab: Dār al-Wa'ī, 1396/1976.

Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār wa a'lām fuqahā' al-aqṭār. Ed. Marzūq 'Alī Ibrāhīm. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyyah, 1408/1987.

Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān. Ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūṭ. 18 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1408/1988.

Ibn Hishām, 'Abd al-Malik b. Hishām b. Ayyūb (d. 218/833). *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*. Ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and 'Abd al-Ḥafīẓ Shalabī. 2nd edn. 4 vols. in 2. Cairo: Maktabat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1375/1955.

Ibn Isḥāq, Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq al-Muṭṭalibī (d. 151/768). *Kitāb al-Siyar wa al-maghāzī*. vol. I. Ed. Suhayl Zakkār. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1398/1978.

Ibn al-Ja'd, 'Alī b. al-Ja'd b. 'Ubayd al-Jawharī al-Baghdādī. (d. 230/844). *Musnad Ibn al-Ja'd*. Ed. 'Āmir Aḥmad Ḥaydar. Beirut, 1410/1990.

Ibn al-Jārūd, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. al-Jārūd al-Naysābūrī (d. 307/919). *al-Muntaqā min al-sunan al-musnadah*. Ed. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Bārūdī. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kitāb al-Thaqāfiyyah, 1408/1988.

Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fidā' al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 774/1373). *al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*. Ed. Aḥmad Abū Mulḥim, 'Alī Najīb 'Aṭwī, Fu'ād al-Sayyid, Mahdī Nāṣir al-Dīn and 'Alī 'Abd al-Sātir. 8 vols. in 16. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1412/1992.

Tafsīr al-Qur'ān. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1401/1980.

Ibn Khayr, Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī. *al-Fihrist*. Baghdād, 1383/1963.

Ibn Khuzaymah, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Naysābūrī (d. 311/925). *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Khuzaymah*. Ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A'ẓamī. 4 vols. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1390/1970.

Ibn Mājah, Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Qazwīnī (d. 275/888). *Sunan Ibn Mājah*. Ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. 2 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, n.d.

Tārīkh al-khulafā'. Ed. Muḥammad Muṭī' al-Ḥāfiẓ. Damascus: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1399/1979.

Ibn Manẓūr, Abū al-Faḍl Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mukkarram al-Anṣārī (d. 711/1311). *Lisān al-'arab*. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1411/1990.

Ibn Qutaybah, See al-Dīnawarī

Ibn Quṭlūbughā, Abū al-Fida' Zayn al-Dīn Qāsim b. Quṭlūbughā al-Sūdūnī (d. 879/1474). *Tāj al-tarājim*. Ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf. Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1413/1992.

Ibn Rāshid, Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid al-Azdī (d. 151/768). *Kitāb al-Jāmi'*. Ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'ẓamī. 2nd edn. 2 vols. (10 &11 published with *al-Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī). Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1403/1983.

Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd b. Manī' (d. 230/844). *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*. 9 vols. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1405/1985.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 642/1244). *Muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ fī 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1408/1988.

Ibn Sallām, See Abū 'Ubayd

Ibn Shihāb, See al-Ẓuhrī

Ibn Taghrī Birdī al-Atābikī, Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf (d. 874/1469). *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fi mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*. Cairo: al-Mu'assasah al-Miṣriyyah al-'Āmmah, 1383/1963.

Ibn Ṭūlūn, Muḥammad b. Ṭūlūn al-Dimashqī (d. 953/1546). *I'lām al-sā'ilīn 'an kutub sayyid al-mursalīn*. Ed. Maḥmūd al-Arna'ūṭ. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1403/1983.

Al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr b. Baḥr (d. 255/868). *al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn*. Ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. 5th edn. 2 vols. Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 1405/1985.

al-Ḥayawān. Ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. 3rd edn. 7 vols. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1388/1969.

Al-Jazarī, See Ibn al-Athīr
Al-Jurjānī, See Ibn 'Adī

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, See al-Baghdādī
Al-Kissī, See 'Abd b. Ḥumayd

Mālik b. Anas, See al-Aṣbaḥī
Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid, See Ibn Rāshid.
Al-Mas'ūdī, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 346/957). *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar.* Ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. 4 vols. Beirut, 1402/1982.
Al-Mizzī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abī al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. al-Zakī (d. 742/1341). *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fi asmā' al-rijāl.* Ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf. 35 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1400-1412/1980-1992.
Al-Mubarrad, Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd (d. 286/899). *al-Kāmil fi al-lughah.* Ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. 4 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, n.d.
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, See al-Shaybānī
Al-Mundhirī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Aẓīm b. 'Abd al-Qawī (d. 656/1258). *al-Targhīb wa al-tarhīb min al-ḥadīth al-sharīf.* Ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1399/1979
Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, See al-Naysābūrī
Al-Muṭṭalibī, See Ibn Isḥāq

Al-Nasā'ī, Aḥmad b. Shu'ayb. (d. 303/915). *al-Sunan al-kubrā.* Ed. 'Abd al-Ghaffār Sulaymān al-Bandārī and Sayyid Kasrawī Ḥasan. 6 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1411/1991.
Sunan al-Nasā'ī. Ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah. 9 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1414/1994.
Kitāb al-Ḍu'afā' wa al-matrūkīn. Lahore: Idārat Turjumān al-Sunnah, 1402/1982.
Al-Nawawī, Abū Zakariyyā Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Sharaf (d. 676/1277). *Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa al-lūghāt.* 3 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d.
Al-Naysābūrī, Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī (d. 261/874). *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim.* Ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1403/1983.
Al-Naysābūrī, See al-Ḥākim
Al-Naysābūrī, See Ibn al-Jārūd

Al-Qazwīnī, See Ibn Mājah
Al-Qurṭubī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 671/1272). *al-Jāmi' li aḥkām al-Qur'ān.* Ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Alīm. 2nd edn. 20 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Sha'b, 1372/1952.

Al-Rāmhurmuzī, al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 360/970). *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayn al-rāwī wa al-wā'ī*. Ed. Muḥammad 'Ajjāj al-Khaṭīb. 3rd edn. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1404/1984.

Al-Rāzī, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr 'Abd al-Qādir (d. 666/1267). *Mukhtār al-ṣiḥāḥ*. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1401/1981.

Al-Rāzī, See Ibn Abī Ḥātim

Al-Sam'ānī, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Tamīmī (d. 562/1166). *Adab al-imlā' wa al-istimlā'*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1401/1981.

Al-Ṣan'ānī, Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām (d. 211/826). *al-Muṣannaf*. Ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'ẓamī. 2nd edn. 12 vols. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1403/1983.

Al-Shāfi'ī, Muḥammad b. Idrīs (d. 204/819). *al-Risālah*. Ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir. n.p., 1309/1891.

al-Musnad. Cairo: Dār al-Rayyān Li'l-Turāth, 1408/1987.

al-Sunan al-ma'thūrah. Ed. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī Amīn Qal'ajī. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1406/1986.

al-Umm. Ed. Maḥmūd Muṭrijī. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1413/1993.

Al-Shāṭibī, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā (d. 790/1388). *al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.

Al-Shaybānī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (d. 189/804). *al-Āthār*. 3rd edn. Karachi: Idārat al-Qur'ān, 1411/1990.

al-Siyar al-kabīr. Ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid. 5 vols. Cairo: Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt, 1391/1971.

Al-Shaybānī, See Ibn Abī 'Āṣim

Al-Shaybānī, See Ibn Ḥanbal

Al-Sūdūnī, See Ibn Quṭlūbughā

Al-Ṣuyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr (d. 911/1505). *Qaṭf al-azhār al-mutanāthirah fi al-akhbār al-mutawātirah*. Ed. Khalīl Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Mays. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1405/1985.

Tadrīb al-rāwī fi sharḥ taqrīb al-Nawawī. Ed. 'Abd al-Wahāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf. 2nd edn. 2 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1385/1966.

Tafsīr al-jalālayn. 1st edn. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, n.d.

Tārīkh al-khulafā'. Ed. Qāsim al-Rifā'ī and Muḥammad al-'Uthmānī. Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1406/1986.

Al-Ṭabarānī, Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb (d. 360/970). *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*. Ed. Ḥamdī b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī. 2nd edn. 25 vols. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1404/1983.

al-Mu'jam al-ṣaghīr. Ed. Muḥammad Shakūr. 2 vols. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1405/1985.

Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn. Ed. Ḥamdī b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī. 2 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1405/1984.

Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr (d. 310/922). *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*. 13 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1407/1987.

Al-Tabrīzī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb (d. 516/1122). *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*. Ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī. 3rd edn. 3 vols. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1405/1985.

Al-Ṭayālisī, Sulaymān b. Dawūd b. al-Jārūd (d. 204/819). *Musnad Abī Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, n.d.

Al-Tirmidhī, Abū 'Īsā, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Sawrah (d. 279/892). *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*. Ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir vols. 1&2 and Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. Vols. 3, 4&5. Makkah: al-Maktabah al-Tijāriyyah, n.d.

Al-'Uqaylī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Mūsā (d. 322/933). *Ḍu'afā' al-'Uqaylī*. Ed. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī Amīn Qal'ajī. 4 vols. Beirut, 1404/1984.

Al-Wāqidī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Wāqid (d. 207/822). *al-Maghāzī*. Ed. Marsden Jones. 3rd edn. 3 vols. Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1404/1984.

Al-Ya'qūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Ja'far b. Wahb b. Wāḍiḥ (d. 284/897). *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*. 6th edn. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1415/1995.

Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, See al-Ḥamawī

Al-Zamakhsharī, Maḥmūd b. 'Umar (d. 538/1143). *Al-Mustaqṣā min amthāl al-'arab*. 2nd edn. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1408/1987.

Al-Zayla'ī, 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf. *Naṣb al-rāyah li-aḥādīth al-hidāyah*. 2nd edn. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1393/1973.

Al-Ẓuhrī, Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb (d. 124/741). *al-Maghāzī al-nabawiyyah* (has taken out from *Muṣannaf 'Abd al-Razzāq*). Ed. Suhayl Zakkār. Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1401/1981.

SECONDARY SOURCES

'Abd al-Bāqī, Muḥammad Fu'ād. *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qur'ān*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1411/1991.

'Abd Dixon, 'Abd al-Ameer. *The Umayyad Caliphate* 65-86/684-705: *A Political Study*. London: Luzac & Company, 1971.

Abū Shahbah, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. *al-Isrā'īliyāt wa al-mawḍū'āt fī kutub al-tafsīr*. 4th edn. Cairo: Maktabat al-Sunnah, 1408/1987.

Abū Zahū, Muḥammad Muḥammad. *al-Ḥadīth wa al-muḥaddithūn*. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1404/1984.

Al-Aḥmadī, 'Alī b. Ḥusayna'alī. *Makātīb al-rasūl*. Beirut: Dār al-Muhājir, n.d.

Al-Albānī, Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn. *Ḍa'īf sunan Ibn Mājah*. Ed. Zuhayr al-Shāwīsh. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islamī, 1408/1988.

Silsilat al-aḥādīth al-ṣaḥīḥah.

4th edn. vols. 1&2. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1405/1985.

2nd edn. vol. 3. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1407/1987.

2nd edn. vol. 4. Kuwait: al-Dār al-Salafiyyah, n.d.

1st edn. vol. 5. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1412/1991.

1st edn. vol. 6. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, 1416/1996.

Al-A'ẓamī, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā. *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*. 2nd edn. Beirut, 1978.

Studies in Ḥādīth Methodology and Literature. USA: American Trust Publications, 1413/1992.

On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. Riyadh: King Saud University, 1405/1985.

Beyanouni, Fathiddin. "Ḥadīth and Its Principles in the Early Days of Islam: A Critical Study of a Western Approach." Ph.D. dissertation. Glasgow University, 1994.

Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane. A. J. Wensinck and others, Leiden, 1936-1969, 1988. Trans. into Arabic as *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-aḥādīth.*

Denffer, Ahmad von. *Literature on Hadith in European Languages: A Bibliography.* UK: The Islamic Foundation, 1401/1981.

Encyclopedia of Islam. Ed. D. B. MacDonald. 1st edn. 9 vols. Leiden, 1913-1938 (*EI*1); 2nd edn. E. H. R. Gibb et al. Leiden, 1960- (*EI*2).

Goitein, S. D. "The Historical Background of the Erection of the Dome of the Rock," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 70 (1950): 104-8.

Goldziher, Ignaz. *Muslim Studies*. vol. II. Trans. from the German by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern. London, 1971.

Guillaume, Alfred. *The Life of Muḥammad: A Translation of Ibn Isḥāq's Sīrat rasūl Allāh With Introduction and Notes.* 10th edn. Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1970.

The Traditions of Islam. Oxford, 1924.

Ḥāfiẓ, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Maḥmūd. "The Life of az-Zuhrī and his Scholarship in Qur'ānic Sciences and Tradition (Ḥadīth and Sunna)." Ph.D. dissertation. Edinburgh University, 1977.

Ḥamīd Allāh, Muḥammad. *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyyah li-al-'aḥd al-nabawī wa al-khilāfah al-rāshidah.* 5th edn. Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is, 1405/1985.

Hirschberg, J. W. "The Sources of Moslim Traditions Concerning Jerusalem," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XVII (1953): 314-50.

Hitti, Philip K. *History of the Arabs*. 3rd edn. London, 1946.

Al-'Izzī, 'Abd al-Mun'im Ṣāliḥ al-'Alī. *Difā' 'an Abī Hurayrah*. 2nd edn. Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1393/1973.

Al-JarAllah, Sulaiman Muhammad. "The Origins of Ḥadīth: A Critical Appraisal of a Western Approach to the Subject." Ph.D. dissertation. Glasgow University, 1991.

Juynboll, G. H. A. *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth*. Cambridge: University Press, 1983.

On the Origins of Arabic Prose: Reflections on Authenticity, Papers on Islamic History. Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society. Ed. G. H. A. Juynboll. Carbondale 1982, pp. 161-75.

Al-Kattānī, 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. 'Abd al-Kabīr. *Niẓām al-ḥukūmah al-nabawiyyah al-musammā al-tarātīb al-idāriyyah*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.

Al-Kattānī, Muḥammad b. Ja'far (d. 1345/1926). *al-Risālah al-mustaṭrafah*. 5th edn. Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1414/1993.

Al-Khaṭīb, Muḥammad 'Ajjāj. *al-Sunnah qabl al-tadwīn*. 3rd edn. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1400/1980.

Kremer, Alfred Von. *The Orient Under the Caliphs*. Trans. by S. Khuda Bukhsh, Philadelphia: Porcupine press, 1977.

La Beaume, Jules. *Le Koran Analysé*. Paris, 1878. Trans. into Arabic as Jūl lā Būm, *Tafṣīl āyāt al-Qur'ān al-ḥakīm*. by Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1954.

Motzki H., "The *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī as a Source of Authentic *Aḥādīth* of the First Century A.H.," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50 (January 1991): 1-21.

Pearson J. D. *Index Islamics* 1906-1955. Cambridge, 1958.

Robson, James. "The Material of Tradition I," *The Muslim World* 41 (1951): 166-80.

"The Material of Tradition II," *The Muslim World* 41 (1951): 257-70.

Schacht, Joseph. "A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1949): 143-54.

The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. Oxford, 1950.

Sezgin, Fu'ād. *Tārīkh al-turāth al-'arabī*. Trans. from the German by Maḥmūd Fahmī Ḥijāzī. Riyadh: al-Imām University, 1403/1983. (*Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*. 9 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.)

Al-Sibā'ī, Muṣṭafā Ḥusnī. *al-Sunnah wa makānatuhā fi al-tashrī' al-islamī*. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islamī, 1405/1985.

Ṣiddīqī, Muḥammad Zubayr. *Ḥadīth Literature*. Ed. 'Abd al-Hakim Murad. Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993.

Simon, Róbert. *Ignác Goldziher: His Life and Scholarsip as Reflected in his Works and Correspondence.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986.

Al-'Umarī, Akram Ḍiyā'. *Buḥūth fi tārīkh al-sunnah al-musharrafah.* 4th edn. n.p., 1405/1984.

Al-'Uqaylī, Muḥammad Arshīd. *al-Safārāt al-nabawiyyah ilā mulūk al-'ālam wa umarā' aṭrāf al-jazīrah al-'arabiyyah.* Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm, 1406/1986.

Wellhausen, J. *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall.* Trans. by Margaret Graham Weir. University of Calcutta, 1927.